Essays in this volume offer fresh insights into Jain principles of Ahımsā and Anekānta by examınıng their meaning and historical significance, and demonstrate their relevance and role in addressing contemporary issues of intolerance, conflict, violence and war Contributors to this book bring perspectives from the disciplines of philosophy, religious studies, history and art history.

"These essays contain piercing and prescriptive approaches grappling, according to Jain tradition, with current geopolitics, particularly in the wake of terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. In addressing a host of tantalizing Jain clues to human salvation and the global amelioration of suffering, the contributors to this impressive have unearthed volume continual appeal that has worked for the Jains for millennia and could work for others."

From Foreword by MICHAEL TOBIAS

AHIMSĀ, ANEKĀNTA AND JAINISM

LALA SUNDARLAL JAIN **RESEARCH SERIES**

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VOLUME XXI

AHIMSĀ, ANEKĀNTA AND JAINISM

Edited by
TARA SETHIA

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About the Cover

Kamatha born as a beast attacks Pāršva in a former life, detail of a mural at the Jaina matha, Shravana Belgola, Karnataka, ca 1825-50 Photo Del Bontà

The image on the cover portrays ahimsā in its most compelling form Rather than illustrate ahimsā as avoiding to do harm—killing creatures for food or simply treading on them—here Pārsva allows the beast to actually eat him Pāršva's ahimsā is not the act of deciding not to fight back, but rather it transcends the violence with complete absence of fear. The inevitability of Pāršva's inaction is due to the state of his great soul. The peaceful landscape with its innocent animals scattered about underscores Pāršva's ahimsā by offering an effective foil to the act of killing him.

In Parsva's ten incarnations the soul who we call Kamatha' saw himself as Pārsva's rival and killed him four times. Kamatha also tried to kill him numerous other times, including during Pārsva 's final life. The murals of the *matha* tell the stories of these births, concentrating primarily on the first and the last. A few births seem to be represented by single telling moments of the specific life. Here the naked Pārsva sits in quiet mediation under a tree while Kamatha born as a wild beast, depicted as the mythical śārdūla, attacks him Pārsva 's quiescence is staggering, and is truly sublime.

Ahımsa, Anekanta and Jainism

The Jaina matha at Shravana Belgola was probably built in the 15th or 16th centuries long after the bulk of architectural activity at the site and served as a residence for the bhattaraka, the Digambara religious head there During the reign of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar (1794-1868), who was restored to the throne after Tipu Sultan's death, the arts of Mysore enjoyed an important renaissance. The murals of the Jaina matha at Shravana Belgola are some of the finest examples of the period.

Robert J Del Bontà

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Foreword

SERIES EDITOR

I consider it a privilege to write a Foreword to the book entitled Ahimsā, Anekānta and Jainism edited by Tara Sethia, which is a collection of articles written by eminent and illustrious scholars of Jainism. The book has three sections as the title suggests. In section one, the views on and nature of ahimsā are emphasised and it is stated that ahimsā is the backbone of the progress of the civilised world Though the world is inundated with terrorism, tyranny, malevolent activities, horror and holocaust, the basic finer qualities of human beings, such as, compassion, kindness, forgiveness, sympathy and non-violence are always crowned with success Mahāvīra, some 2600 years ago, realised this doctrine and preached throughout his whole life the doctrine of ahimsā (non-violence) which is the best religion in the world along with tapah (penance) and samyama (restraint)' —dhammo mangalam ukkittham ahımsā samjamo tavo (Dašavaikātikasūtra I.1 1). All the four articles written by eminent persons point out this aspect of ahimsā to a great extent.

In the second section, the philosophy of anekānta, one of the greatest arguments of human mind, is focused

Ahımsā, Anekaānta and Jainism

by six learned scholars and have shown how anekānta is very much relevant in judging the validity of a substance (dravya) even in the present-day context. The basic idea of anekāntavāda is to judge a thing from its positive and negative aspects. It is to be scaled from many (aneka) angles, so that we can get the real nature of a thing

In the third section, Jainism in history text-books and in Arts and Epigraphy is elucidated. This section describes the excessive melancholy state of affairs in the text-books of Indian History prepared for the undergraduate courses in the United States. This section states that the coverage of Jainism in most of the text-books is jejune and significantly inadequate.

On the whole, this book will definitely help the readers to form and frame an idea on ahimsā and anekānta in a succinct manner I, therefore, thank Mr N P Jain, Director of Motilal Banarsidass, for including this book in the series for the benefit of the scholars I believe that the book-shelves of every learned scholar of Jainism will be adorned with this book

Satya Ranjan Banerjee Quondam Professor of Linguistics, Calcutta University

The 15th of January 2004 Calcutta

Foreword

MICHAEL TOBIAS

For all of our inventive elegance, remarkable dreams and undying capacity to share, to love, to learn from our mistakes, we humans continue to rain down upon one another and the earth at large a colossal burden which, tragically, is often the very sum of our existence

This onus emerges in the very guises of much that is characterized by progress and development, not least of which are the consumption of fossil fuels, the desiccation of coral reefs, our collective decimation of tropical and temperate forests, and the cruel obliteration of 45 to 50 billion farm animals per year worldwide. At the same time, our species has consigned to oblivion an accelerating circle of victims, be they the tens-of-thousands of plant, animal and insect species we are driving extinct, the 800 million humans who are hungry, or the other two billion people who are below the poverty line

Politically, we have witnessed countless forms of tyranny, prejudice, and the use of malevolent force against indigenous peoples, women, children, ethnic minorities, and whole nations. Since the time of the European Renaissance, it is estimated that some 250

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million people have been murdered Civil wars continue to erupt. And the recent terrorism and grievous hostilities in the Persian Gulf merely reflect long-time trends in the name of "Just War" which must connote, surely, the most ambivalent of recommendations for our species

Yet, there are other norms, deep-seated behavioral and spiritual paradigms which cry out for altogether different interpretations and conclusions, and which go to the heart of the human potential. One such tradition is Jainism, whose most recent sage, Mahāvīra, died in c 527 BCE, leaving a seminal legacy of alumsā and anekānta

That legacy is the subject of this remarkable collection of thirteen essays beautifully edited by Dr Tara Sethia. These essays contain piercing and prescriptive approaches to grappling, according to Jain tradition, with current geopolitics, particularly in the wake of terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. How can traditions of nonviolence, in any ethical community, find pathways that are likely to make a difference, soften human callousness, inspire an awareness of the spectacular possibilities of reconciliation, grace under pressure, and unconditional love? Countering seemingly impossible odds, what fonts of practical wisdom and spiritual ballast—what emotional anchors—might be gleaned from the limelight of nonviolence and tolerance that are at the core of perennial Jain emphasis?

In addressing a host of tantalizing Jain clues to human salvation and the global amelioration of suffering, the contributors to this impressive volume have unearthed a continual appeal that has worked for the Jains for millennia and could work for others. Presenting from Sonya Quintanilla's insights into the early Ardhaphalaka

Foreword

sect of Jains, a community that appears to have embraced all religious traditions and assimilated the best they had to offer, to Satish Kumar's important message to politicians "Wars start in our minds and in our speeches," to Christopher Chapple's reminder that Jains have long emphasized personal responsibility for other species and the environment, this is a groundbreaking volume that should be required reading for every course in political science, comparative religions, peace and nonviolence, and environmental studies

Jain tradition never compromised with respect to its monks and nuns (approximately 7,000 today)--they wander from village to village, speaking the gospel of nonviolence, refraining from all thoughts and actions that might carry even the slightest possibility of violence. Strict vegetarians, these mendicants obtain their food by passive begging Possession-less, their goal is nothing more than a humble, personal contribution to a peace-loving world, the awakening in others of Jainism's most universal calling, to use P. S. Jaini's translation, "I ask pardon of all creatures, may all of them pardon me. May I have friendship with all beings and enmity with none."

Meanwhile, the millions of lay followers of these mendicants are not expected to give up everything Rather, they are exhorted—by gentle example—to set the daily pace of societal change, as Mahatma Gandhi did (he was greatly influenced by several Jains throughout his life) The transformation in the secular world involves the limiting of one's possessions (parigraha-parimana), the stunting of occupational violence (arambhaja-himsa), and the adoption of vows (vrata) that would embrace the universal truth, starting one person at a time, of a Jain

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antidote, exquisitely expressed by the ancient Acarya Umasvati, which holds that "nonviolence is unlimited, tolerance unconditional, and reverence for life supreme" (Tattvartha Satra) Moreover, this emblematic context for all of Jainism is further underscored by its ecological anthem, a message that resonates today like never before, namely, "parasparopagraho jīvānām," suggesting ecological interdependence among all living beings

These are extraordinary challenges to life in modern times. But they are exactly what we need if all life is to survive in a sea of stormy volition and skewed evolution. This book is a most welcome addition to the literature of life-support that can make a difference

Acknowledgements

This book evolved from the proceedings of an international conference, "Lessons of Ahimsa and Anekanta for Contemporary Life," held at Pomona in January 2002. The conference was sponsored by several institutions and individuals (listed in Appendix). I greatly appreciate their kind support which made the conference possible. Special thanks to Dr. Sukh S. Mehta, Professor. Christopher. Key Chapple, and. Dr. Bharti, Jain for their enthusiasm and diligence in the planning and organizing of the conference. Also helpful were. Mrs. Sunila Daga, Mr. Sumati, Jain, Dr. Narendra Parson, and Mr. Amar Salgia. I am thankful, to Dr. Nitin Shah, Mr. Sailes, Jain, Mr. Roop, Jain, and. Mr. Ramesh, Jain for their various kinds of assistance, and to Dr. Rajiv Dhabuwala for his kindness and gracious contribution in video taping the conference.

I am grateful to my Dean, Dr Barbara Way and to the History Department for their continuing support which enabled me to edit and prepare the book for publication I wish to thank Professor Padmanabh S. Jaini at the University of California at Berkeley for generously giving his time in answering my numerous questions, and for his constant encouragement

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I am thankful to Dr Michael Tobias for writing a thoughtful Foreword to the book, and to Dr Robert J Del. Bonta for contributing a photograph for use on the cover of the book along with an insightful description of the message it conveys

I appreciate the cooperation I received from the contributing authors in facilitating the timely completion of the book. I also want to thank all speakers and panel chairs for their respective contributions at the conference (Appendix)

I wish to thank Mr Narendra Prakash Jain and the editorial team at Motilal Banarsidass for their promptness in reviewing the manuscript and providing comments

Finally, as always, I am deeply indebted to my husband and campus colleague, Dr Nirmal Sethia, for his helpfulness and critical inputs throughout this project

Tara Sethia tsethia@csupomona edu

Introduction

TARA SETHIA

The year 2001-2002 marked the twenty-sixth birth centenary year of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (c 599-527 BCE), the twenty-fourth *Tīrthankara* and propagator of Jainism as we know today ¹ Many places in India and around the world celebrated the year as the "āhimsā year" to commemorate Mahāvīra's total adherence to aliimsā (nonviolence) Such celebrations of ahimsā could not have been more timely

Today, people are becoming increasingly conscious of their distinctive identity not only in terms of race and ethnicity but also in terms of cultural traditions and religious beliefs. While such consciousness of one's heritage and a sense of pride in it serves as a positive force at the personal level, it also frequently leads to schisms and strife at the social level. The make-up of families, communities, cities and nations reflects unprecedented

The Jain tradition holds that every Tirthankara "reanimates this ever present imperishable tradition" See Padmanabh S Jaini, The Jaina Path of Punfication (Berkeley University of California Press, 1979), p 2

Ahmsa, Anekanta and Jamism

diversity today, and this diversity when not accompanied by a strong spirit of mutual understanding and appreciation, is prone to fuel tensions that result in a variety of violent behaviors. Tragic examples of violence range from mass genocides to school shootings, and from civilians killed in the war zones to spectators dying in game fields. In the very first year of this century, we witnessed the unimaginable destruction of life on September 11, which in turn resulted in retaliation, war and loss of more lives. Violence continues to lead to more violence.

Under such circumstances, Mahavira's teachings, and in particular two of its core elements, the principle of alumsa and the philosophy of anekanta, appear to have increasing universal relevance as well as great practical significance Alumsa and Anekanta were the focal themes of an international conference, "Celebrating Mahavira's Teachings The Lessons of Alumsa and Anekanta for Contemporary Life," held on January 19-20, 2002 at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona This volume presents twelve scholarly papers from that conference

The papers are grouped in the following thematic sections Ahimsa in Jainism and its significance today, Anekantavada in Jainism and in contemporary context, Jainism in History textbooks and in art and epigraphy

Although the principle of ahunsa is common to many religious and philosophical traditions, the extent of its explication and the depth of its understanding are very unique to Jainism. Yet, the Jain contribution to the origin and evolution of this principle remains under-represented

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in the scholarly literature, which makes only occasional reference to the Jain sources ²

The Jains regard ahimsa as the virtue of all virtues, "ahımsa parmo dharmah." A precondition to the proper practice of ahimsa is the knowledge of the existing life forms Here Mahavira's contribution is unique as it broadens our understanding of life and the living through his explication of six main categories of life forms: earth (prthvi), water (apa) fire (tens), wind (vayu), vegetation (vanaspati), and mobile beings with two or senses (trasa) Ahimsa, as Ācārya Mahāprajña points out, is possible only with the knowledge of all such living forms, and the understanding that all living beings irrespective of their forms are equal and experience pleasure and pain. This sense of our being same as other beings is at the core of the practice of alumsa 3 While understanding of alumsa is essential for its practice, it is not enough. As explained by Ganādhipati Ācārya Tulsi, ahimsā is a strength and power that grows with practice, and self-control or restraint (samyama) 4

The first group of papers examine the meaning and significance of *alumsa* and its role in addressing contemp-

² Christopher Key Chapple, Nonviolence to Animals, Earth, and Self in Asian Traditions (New York SUNY Press, 1993), p 5

³ For a further discussion of this aspect in the Jain Scriptures, and Mahavira's unique contribution in this context, see Ācārya Mahaprajña, *Astitua aur Alimsā* (Ladnun, India: Jain Vishva Bharti, 1994), pp 9-14, 216-17

⁴ Sadhvī Pramukha Kanakprabha (ed), Samasya Ka Sagar, Ahimsa Kī Nauka by Ganadhipati Ācārya Tulsi (New Delhi Adarsh Sahitya Sangh, 2003), pp 166-167

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orary problems of violence, terrorism, and the question of "just war" Drawing upon scholarly works on Jainism as well as the current practices of the Jain community, Kristi Wiley discusses the inter-connectedness of the related concepts of ahimsa, compassion and samyaktoa in Jainism Wiley suggests that Jain view of ahimsa is based on the proper view of reality (samyag daršana) which regards any kind of violence to other living beings as violence to self and, therefore, injurious to one's spiritual progress and pursuit of moksa Nonetheless, the rational expression of this principle, she points out, also results in compassion or "social fellow feeling" Such compassion has prompted the Jains to speak in favor of vegetarianism, and against certain practices including animal sacrifice and Vedic rituals

How can Jainism with its commitment to alumsa help one to respond to acts of terrorism and defend oneself and fellow beings against acts of violence and aggression? Is there a justification for war in Jainism? According to John Cort, "while there is a Jain theory of just war, we certainly see no Jain equivalent to a theory of a holy war "5 However, as Nathmal Tatia has pointed out, according to Umasväti, the author of Tattvartha Satra, 'nonviolence is unlimited, tolerance unconditional, and reverence for life supreme There is no question of "just war" "6 Both Kim

⁵ See John Cort, "Intellectual Alumsa" Revisited Jain Tolerance and Intolerance of Others,' Philosophy East and West (Vol 50, No 3, July 2000) 324-347, p 337

^{6 &}quot;Translator's Introduction" to Umasvati's Tattvartha Satra in Nathmal Tatia (ed.), That Which Is (San Francisco and London Harper Collins, 1994), p. xxi

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Skoog and Padmanabh S. Jaini address this and related issues in their papers.

Skoog formulates a Jain response to terrorism based on Jain philosophy and principles. He contends that although there is no theory of "just war" in Jainism, the Jain discussion of war comes close to it. Lay Jains who may participate in the war must do so only as a last resort, must be aware of its harmful impact, must not act with passion or emotion, and must strive to remain detached. Such emphasis on calm and detachment, concludes Skoog, can lead to care in the military activity and avoidance of destruction of innocent lives.

Jaini examines the question of "just war" . in the context of the principle of ahimsa in Jainism Violence of any kind results from lack of compassion However, as Jaini points out, in Jain tradition, compassion toward others is possible only when we recognize the value of the self, "the source of all spiritual wisdom" Therefore, ahimsa is regarded necessary for one's spiritual progress leading to moksa Drawing from insightful stories in the Jain scriptures, Jaini explains that although survival and occupation related violence is an option for lay Jains (unlike the mendicants who must observe nonviolence), they must fully understand that "nothing short of hell or animal rebirth awaits those who kill or die while entertaining thoughts of violence." This is quite in contrast to the belief that death on battlefield is equal to martyrdom, or death in a holy war is a gateway to heaven, and even to the "just war" ideology The Jain dedication to ahimsa and amity with all living beings, concludes Jaini, is the highest aspiration a Jain wishes to achieve

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Satish Kumar believes that the foundations for his continuing work toward nonviolence and peace in the world were laid when he was a Jain muni (monk). For him, one of the greatest contributions of Jainism to world peace is its emphasis on human ability to practice silence, and to learn "when to speak, what to speak, and how to speak". Wars, he suggests, start in human minds and with human speech. Jainism teaches us that nonviolence begins with the self, in one's thoughts and language, and one's own actions. A peaceful world based on respect and care for all living beings is possible only when we extend this personal nonviolence to socio-political and ecological domains, and translate the nonviolence for the self into nonviolence for all

The roots of ahimsa are in the philosophy of anekanta, an epistemological tool for understanding the nature of reality In the Indic context, epistemology (theory of knowledge) is usually connected with ontology (theory of existence) within a given tradition The Jains not only evolved their own theory of knowledge, including anekantavada (with twin aspects of nayavada and syadvada) in the context of their metaphysics and ontology, but more importantly, were also concerned about questions such as, what constitutes valid knowledge and how such knowledge is acquired? Therefore, the value of Jain epistemology is two-fold First, it serves as the basis for understanding what constitutes the knowledge of ultimate reality, and second, it serves (separate from the first) as the basis for intelligible day-to-day dialog and

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discussion on matters of common concern. Knowledge of ultimate reality within the Jain tradition is believed to be infinite (kevalajñana), and can only be attained by a liberated soul, the direct seer or knower. In contrast, ordinary human beings can have only limited knowledge in their day-to-day life conditioned by certain perspectives.

The second group of papers in this volume explore both functions of Jain epistemology, explaining (1) the nature of ultimate reality in terms of ontological categories of jiva and ajiva (soul and matter) in their infinite forms and modes, and (2) the basis of logic and valid knowledge in the context of dialog and discourse in the everyday life. The papers in this section also demonstrate the significance of anekanta within the Jain tradition, in the history of religious rivalry, and in the context of problems of violence and intolerance in the contemporary world

Samani Charitrapragya addresses questions such as, How did anekantavada originate? How is it connected with Mahāvīra and Jainism? Why is it significant within the Jain tradition? She points out that the word anekanta was not used by Mahāvīra, but suggests that its origin can be traced to Mahāvīra's responses to the questions of his disciples as recorded in the Jain text, Bhagavati Sūtra Being omniscient, Mahāvīra was the seer of truth Yet, he could not express truth in its totality due to the limitations of language, and therefore used the language of naya It was in the millennium following Mahāvīra that the Jain ācāryas constructed new terminology to explain the significance of

⁷ Jayandra Soni, "Basic Jaina Epistemology," *Philosophy East and West*, (Vol. 50, No. 3, July 2000): 367-377, p. 370

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the nayas leading to the formulation and evolution of anekantavada Its application in the context of the present world, she concludes, can help us understand multiple dimensions of truth, reconcile opposing views, and make us tolerant of others' views

John Koller advances logical argument a demonstrating the significance of anekantavada, especially for addressing the problem of growing violence in our society. He argues that violence is rooted in "dogmatic but mistaken knowledge claims that fail to recognize other legitimate perspectives" Anekantavada, Koller suggests, provides us with an alternative epistemology to support dialog among people of diverse viewpoints epistemology allows us to respect the views of others Epistemological respect for the views of others, Koller cautions, should not be confused with relativism. It does not mean conceding that all views are equal suggest, however, that logic and evidence determine the validity of a given view 8 Anekantavada, explains Koller, allowed the Jain thinkers to maintain the validity of Jain view of reality, and to respectfully criticize the views of others, and their own views in terms of weaknesses. Such epistemological respect for the views of others, Koller concludes, "has a great potential to eliminate violent

⁸ Jayandra Soni points out that the Jain epistemology includes a provision to explain error in human cognition, and also the reason for such error. He quotes from Manikyanandin's *Pariksamukhasutra* and Hemcandra's *Pramanamimamsa* to support this line of argumentation. See "Basic Jaina Epistemology," op cit., p. 370

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argument between ideological opponents by methodically both disarming and persuading them "

Epistemological tool of anekanta, argues Anne Vallely, allows us to accept a pluralistic approach to reality without falling into the trap of "extreme moral relativism or religious exclusivism" In demonstrating this she draws from her own experiment with anekantavada while she served as a "teacher of Christianity" for the samanis at Jain Vishva Bharati Institute in India There her research and the many dialogs with the sadhvīs and samanīs over a period of more than one year convinced her that being open-minded to others' beliefs does not require a break from one's own. Thus, Vallely suggests that anekanta is a resolution to the problem underlying the debate on pluralism versus exclusivism.

Reflecting on the "multi-dimensional significance" of anekantavada for day-to-day life, Kamla Jain relates anekanta to the functioning of a secular state or a system, which underscores the neutrality and respect toward all religions, to the working of modern jurisprudence which takes into account all perspectives to arrive at a judgment to the effective functioning of a business organization which succeeds only with the co-existence of various departments, and even to post-modernism and post-structuralism

While in principle anekantavada may appear as a system recognizing multiple worldviews, in reality it served, according to Paul Dundas, as a way which could establish the superiority of the Jain worldview over other models of reality Based on the critical examination of medieval Jain texts and their authors, Dundas demonstrates the tensions and divisions that existed

within the Svetambara Jain community where even superiority of a sect became an issue. Taking the example of Yaśovijayaji, he draws attention to a Jain argument which goes beyond anekantavada. This is the position of being madhyastha (meaning standing in the middle), a position from which it is possible to praise qualities in individuals who may be non-Jains and may even belong to a "false" religious path. However, such inclusive and tolerant approach, Dundas points out, did not mean that the non-Jains were considered equal to the Jains. This approach allowed Jains to be tolerant of non-Jains without abandoning the superiority of Jainism over other paths.

Christopher Key Chapple argues that anekantavada allowed Jains to survive during some of the most hostile and unfavorable moments in history. The stories of violence associated with Acarya Haribhadra serve only to demonstrate the religious rivalry that prevailed at a given period in Indian history Juxtaposing stories of violence attributed to acarya Haribhadra, the great author and philosopher, with the actual passages drawn from Haribhadra's writings, Chapple contends that there is no evidence supporting the validity of such stories evidence that we do have in the form of Haribhadra's own writings strongly attests to his exemplary tolerance and respect for the views of others and his uncompromising commitment to alumsa and anekantavada Nonetheless. Chapple suggests that the story of violence attributed to Haribhadra, though without evidence, and the philosophy of tolerance that in fact characterizes the corpus of his writings, offer two different models to solve the problem of violence in our world today. The first offers violence as a solution to violence, and the second, more in tune with

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the overall orientation of the Jain philosophy, offers compassion, tolerance and forgiveness as a solution to violence

The last section includes two papers that deal with the representation of Jainism and Mahavira in history textbooks, and of ahimsa and anekanta in art and epigraphy respectively. My paper examines the problems underlying the portrayal of Jainism and Mahavira in Indian history textbooks A critical review of eight textbooks of Indian history used for undergraduate courses in the US suggests that the coverage of Mahavira and Jainism in majority of these books is inadequate. The information they provide is sketchy and, at times, confusing Often the key concepts and teachings of Mahavira in these books are misrepresented to the extent that their real essence and wisdom are lost. The emphasis in some of these textbooks on outward appearances of certain religious rituals and practices without due regard for the principles and values such appearances embody undermines the educational purpose textbooks are expected to serve

Using art historical and epigraphical evidence, Sonya Quintanilla demonstrates that the ardhaphālaka Jain monks of early Mathura practiced aliimsā and anekānta in an exemplary manner. Their adherence to ahimsā and anekānta helped them create a tolerant, open and inclusive environment in early Mathura. Such an environment facilitated the rise of Mathura as a cosmopolitan cultural center where members of diverse religions peacefully coexisted. The ardhaphālaka Jain monks and their followers were, thus, instrumental to the rise of key religious movements and iconographic developments in Mathura

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affecting the course of Indian history, the future of Jainism and Jain art in significant ways

The essays in this volume advance the discussion of ahimsa and anekanta in Jainism, point out their historical significance and their potential relevance for addressing contemporary problems, make us aware of the gap between these principles and their practice, and underscore the need for appropriate representation of Jainism and teachings of Mahavira in the history textbooks

Contributions in this volume should provide a lasting impetus for the study of Mahavira's teachings, and should also serve as a catalyst for understanding the power of *ahimsa* and *anekanta* in his teachings as pathways to enduring peace

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Ahiṃsā in Jainism and its Significance Today

Views on Ahimsā, Compassion and Samyaktva in Jainism

KRISTI L WILEY

In characterizing the teachings of Mahavira, a central theme would certainly be *ahimsa*, which has remained the cornerstone of Jain ethics to this day. As Padmanabh S Jaini has observed, there is a "preoccupation with *ahimsa*" within Jainism, for no other religious tradition "has carried it [ahimsa] to the extreme of the Jainas. For them it is not simply the first among virtues but the virtue. "In most other religious traditions violence usually is associated with causing harm to other living beings. In Jainism, however, "it [himsa] refers primarily to injuring oneself—to behavior which inhibits the soul's ability to attain moksa."

¹ Padmanabh S Jaini, The Jaina Path of Purification (Berkeley University of California Press, 1979), p 167

² Jaini, op cit, p 167 The reasoning is that intentional harm to other living beings is motivated by passions (kasayas), which cause the binding of unwholesome varieties (papa prakrtis) of karmic matter to one's own soul. These karmas cause rebirth in undesirable states of existence that are characterized by a

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This focus on one's own spiritual progress as an important motivating factor for observing ahimsa has been mentioned by other authors as well For example, Ronald Huntington, the late professor of religion and the codirector of Albert Schweitzer Institute at Chapman University, has written that Jainism "expands Albert Schweitzer's famous concept of reverence for life into reverence for the entire universe" and that it "has affinities with Gandhi's non-violent campaigns of satyagraha (truthforce)" and with the writings of St Francis of Assisi He concludes that "it would be entirely wrong, however, to see alumsa in any sentimental light. The Jain doctrine of non-injury is based on rational consciousness, not emotional compassion, on individual responsibility, not on a social fellow-feeling The motive in Jamism is selfcentered and entirely for the purpose of individual kawalya And yet, though the emphasis is on personal liberation, the Jain ethic makes that goal attainable only through consideration for others "3

In other writings, however, a different view of ahimsa and compassion in Jainism has been expressed. For instance, in an essay entitled "Environmental Wisdom in

preponderance of suffering and prolong the soul's journey in samsara

³ See R Huntington, "Jainism and Ethics," (December 15, 2001) at www chapman edu/schweitzer/huntington html. The essay was intended to be a chapter in a textbook of world religions that he was preparing at the time of his death. It appears on the Albert Schweitzer Institute's website via a link called "Readings on Reverence for Life."

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Ancient India," L.M Singhvi describes the "ecological philosophy of Jamism" as being "virtually synonymous with the principle of ahimsa" He states

Compassion and reverence for life are the sheet-anchor of the Jain quest for peace, harmony, and rectitude, based on spiritual and physical symbiosis and a sense of responsibility and restraint. The term ahimsa is stated in the negative (a = non, himsa = violence), but it is rooted in a host of positive aims and actions which have great relevance to contemporary environmental concerns. It is a principle of compassion and responsibility. Compassion and non-violence are the basis of the ancient Jain scriptural aphorism Parasparopagraho jīvānām (all life is bound together by the mutual support of interdependence) 4

A similar view of alimsa and compassion is found on a web page of Jain pilgrimages "Jainism has become synonymous with alimsa Alimsa (non-violence) occupies the supreme place in Jainism Compassion (daya) is the guiding force of non-violence. It is the positive way of life. It has been assigned an equally high place in Jainism-daya dharma ka mula hai (Compassion is the basis of religion) "5

⁴ L M Singhvi, "Environmental Wisdom in Ancient India," http://www.ecomall.com/greenshopping/eastgreen.htm

⁵http://www.jainpilgrimages.com/general/mahavir.htm (December 15, 2001)

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In writing about Jain views of ecology in the West, Anne Vallely has observed that "in the [Jain] diaspora community—asceticism is being de-emphasized so that teachings of compassion and non-violence are no longer anchored to a renunciatory worldview Jain teachings are being redefined according to a different ethical charter altogether—one in which active engagement in the world is encouraged "6 Is this diversity of opinion indicative of a shift in thought regarding compassion itself? In this regard, it would be instructive to examine views regarding compassion in some classical Jain texts that emphasize renunciation and asceticism.

First, let us examine passages in the Tattvarthasutra (TS), a text accepted by both Svetambaras and Digambaras although with different commentarial traditions. In TS 612, compassion (anukampa) is listed as one of the causes of the influx of sata-vedantya karma (the karma that causes pleasant bodily feelings), along with giving (dana), asceticism with attachment (saraga-samyama), equanimity (ksanti), concentration (yoga), and purity or freedom from greed (sauca)? Here, and in other passages related to compassion, the commentators gloss anukampa as "daya" or

⁶ Anne Vallely, "From Liberation to Ecology Ethical Discourses among Orthodox and Diaspora Jains," in Christopher Key Chapple (ed.), Jaimsm and Ecology (Cambridge Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 193-216

⁷ Compare this passage with Muni Shri Mishrimal Maharaj (trans), Karmagrantha of Devendrasuri, 6 vols (Beawar, Rajasthan Shri Marudharakesari Sahitya Prakashana Samiti, 1974-1976) 1 55 Here compassion is associated with the binding of sata-vedaniya karma

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"ghrna," "compassion, pity, sympathy, or tenderness towards others" Compassion is "maitri," or "friendliness towards others" A compassionate person is one whose heart is full of the feeling of kindness for the afflictions (pida) of others, as if this suffering were one's own. Another interpretation of compassion, that of giving to others, is offered by the Svetambara commentator Siddhasenagani "When one gives food, water, clothing, utensils, shelter, and so forth to the afflicted, the poor, and beggars who have not renounced the household life, and to mendicants as well, there are fruits in the form of disassociation of various types of karmic matter This brings about knowledge, faith, and conduct. Or, giving is showing compassion It is viewing the suffering of others as if it were one's own Dana is giving away with the intent or wish of showing kindness or giving assistance to others "8

Compassion is discussed by the commentators in association with TS 1 2, where samyak-darśana is defined as "belief in substances as they really are" Four indicative signs of samyak-darsana are listed as praśama (calmness), samvega (uneasiness with worldly existence), anukampa (compassion), and astikya (belief in the existents such as the soul, non-soul, and so forth) Since compassion is associated with a proper view of reality (samyaktva), it is not surprising that karunya is listed among the contemplations (bhavanas) that strengthen all five vows (TS 76 = SS 711) This satra reads "Friendliness (maitri)

⁸ See Umasvatı, Tattvartha Sūtra with Svopajña-bhasya, and commentary by Siddhasenaganī, 2 vols, (Devachanda Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar Fund, Series nos 67 and 76, 1926-30) 6 13

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towards all living beings, delight (pramoda) in the distinction and honor of others, compassion (karunya) for the afflicted (kliśyamana), and equanimity (madhyasthya) towards the ill-mannered [should be contemplated]" Here, in the Sarvarthasiddhi (SS), the Digambara commentator Pojyapada defines karunya as "a disposition (bhava) to render assistance (anugraha) to the afflicted or those who suffer pain or anguish due to the rise of asatavedaniya karma. He concludes that "He who conducts himself in this manner is able to practice non-violence and other vows to perfection"9

Thus, according to these commentators on the Tattvarthasatra, compassion may be expressed either passively or actively by viewing the suffering of others as if it were one's own or by rendering assistance to those who are afflicted The definitions for compassion in these commentaries are similar to those in the Oxford English Dictionary (1) Compassion is suffering together with another, participation in others' suffering, fellow-feeling, sympathy (2) It is the feeling or emotion, when a person is moved by the suffering or distress of another and by the desire to relieve it, pity that inclines to spare or to succour 10

Compassion is discussed in a variety of texts in the context of appropriate mendicant and lay conduct Regarding mendicant conduct, *Acaranga-satra* 11652

⁹ See S A Jain (trans), Pūjyapāda's Sarvarthasiddhi (Madras Jwalamalini Trust, 1960, reprint 1992), p 195

¹⁰ Oxford English Dictionary (Clarendon Press, second edition, 1989)

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states "A saint, with right intuition (samyak-darsana) who cherishes compassion for the world, in the east, west, south, and north, should preach, spread, and praise (the faith), knowing the sacred lore"11 Uttaradhyayana-satra 21 13 says that "A monk should have compassion (dayanukampa) on all beings, should be of a forbearing character, should be restrained and chaste, and abstaining from everything sinful, he should live with his senses control "12 the Digambara Atmanusasana, In under unlimited compassion (karunapara) is listed among the fruits of practicing severe austerities 13 Here, one is urged to follow the path of compassion, self-control, renunciation and equanimity 14 "When the shore of the ocean of the cycle of existence is close by, the fortunate man has aversion to sense-gratifications, has renounced possessions, subjugates the passions, has tranquility, vows, self-control, practice of self-contemplation, pursuit of austerities, duly ordained mental activity, devotion to the linas, and compassion (dayaluta)"15 And in discussing religious virtues in the Prasamaratiprakarana, Umasvati states, "Compassion is the root of sacred doctrine (dharma).

¹¹ Herman Jacobi (trans), Jaina Satras, part 1 Translation of the Acaranga-satra and Kalpa Satra (Oxford Oxford University Press, 1884, reprint Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 1989), p 60

¹² Herman Jacobi (trans), Jaina Sutras, part 2 Translation of the Utturadhyayana-sutra and Sutrakrtanga Sutra (Oxford Oxford University Press, 1895, reprint Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 1989), p 109

¹³ Ātmānusāsana, 68

¹⁴ Atmanusasan, 107

¹⁵ Ātmānušāsana, 224

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A person who is devoid of patience (aksamavan) does not show compassion. Therefore, one who is devoted to patience attains the highest dharma."16

In some of the Śrāvakācāra texts, which detail appropriate conduct for laity, compassion is listed as one of the qualities of an observant layperson (śrāvakā-gunā), specifically in the context of samyaktva and in observing various lay vows ¹⁷ For example, Samantabhadra defines abstention from eating after sunset (ratri-bhojanā) as abandoning food by night out of compassion for living beings (jīvā-dayā) ¹⁸ The Digambara author Āśādhara, in his Sagarā-dharmamrtā, declares that "compassion is the root of the whole sacred doctrine" ¹⁹

It is clear from examining selected passages in these classical Jain texts that compassion is associated with appropriate conduct for both mendicants and laity. Is it possible, then, for actions undertaken by those who lack samyak-darsana, in other words, by those who hold a false view of reality (mithyadrsti), to be informed by compassion, as it is understood in these textual sources? This question is addressed by the Digambara author Vidyananda in his commentary on TS 12. He writes that the qualities of

¹⁶Yajneshwar S Shastri (trans), Umasvāti's *Prasamarati*prakarana L D Series, 107 (Ahmedabad LD Institute of Indology, 1969), 168

^{17 &}quot;This guna is of the very essence of Jainism and needs no comment" See R Williams, Jaina Yoga A Survey of Mediaeval Sravakacaras (London Oxford University Press, 1963), p 269

¹⁸ Ratna-karanda-sravakacara - v 21, as cited in Williams, op cit, p 108

¹⁹ Sagara-dharmamrta 14, as cited in Williams, op cit, p 42

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samtega and anukampa are not possible for those who have the wrong views or mithyadrsti. Although I have been unable to locate a similar statement on this matter in the Svetambara commentaries, there is a passage in the Svetambara Daśavaikalika-satra that reflects a similar point of view "First knowledge, then compassion, those who observe total restraint [i.e., mendicants] live thus." Therefore, according to these sources, humans, heavenly beings, and five-sensed rational animals who have attained a proper view of reality can have, and do have, compassion for others, as understood in Jainism

The Jain doctrine of ahimsa is based on rational consciousness or a proper view of reality (samyaktva), and compassion is an appropriate expression of this spiritual progress While it is true that spiritual progress entails individual responsibility, this does not preclude a "social fellow-feeling" of compassion The objects of one's compassion, or the ways of expressing compassion, undoubtedly have changed over the centuries in accordance with social conditions of the times But whether acts of compassion are manifested in speaking out against animal sacrifice in Vedic ritual practices of ancient times, or in persuading others to refrain from killing animals for food or sport, or in activities associated with animal welfare and the environment in modern times, this ethical value has been an aspect of ahimsa throughout the history of Jamism One of the best expressions of this

²⁰Kastur Chand Lalwani (trans), Dašavaikālika Sūtra (Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), p 10

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sentiment is in the practice of samayıka-the attainment of equanimity-which a Jain aspires to achieve

Friendship towards all beings,
Delight in the qualities of virtuous ones,
Utmost compassion for afflicted beings,
Equanimity towards those who are not welldisposed towards me,
May my soul have such dispositions as these forever ²¹

²¹ As translated in Jaini, op cit, p 224

The Jaina Response to Terrorism

KIM SKOOG

History can be portrayed as a temporal line punctuated by key events, such as wars, that shape our lives. World War I served to shape my grandfather's life, World War II and the Korean War impacted my father's life, and the Cold War and Vietnam War influenced my own life. The terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent reactions will no doubt directly influence my son's life. Normally, we learn to come to terms with these momentous events in our lives by approaching these from social, political, moral, and spiritual perspectives, and by often seeking guidance from established traditions. In this paper, I will focus on formulating a possible Jaina response to the terrorist acts such as those of September 11. In order to do this we must first understand what is meant by terrorism, and how terrorist acts are justified.

Understanding Terrorism and its Justification

As the term "terrorism" connotes, the key tool of trade for the terrorist is terror. This comes in the form of physical violence or psychological fear. Creating this terror is politically or religiously motivated and relies on

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publicity to bring about the desired effect (e.g., not only political change, consciousness-raising, an end of oppression, but also genocide, disruption of life, and so on). Terrorism arises out of a need either to respond to perceived oppression and injustice, or to establish a new regime based on a political, economic, or religious ideology. For the terrorist, such acts are the only means to compete and fight against an economically and militarily superior foe ¹

There are two major arguments in justifying terrorism. The first argument is the *Utilitarian Terrorist Argument*. Accordingly, terrorism is seen as a means to maximize utility, i.e., gaining greater good (happiness) over the collateral harm (unhappiness) it may inflict on some. Some terrorists may even be empathetic to those who they kill or harm, but see it as necessary for the cause they believe in, yet other terrorists argue that civilian casualties are not really *innocent* as they give implicit consent to their government's "oppressive" policies and benefit from them

The second argument in defense of terrorism is called a *Relativist Argument Terrorist vs Freedom Fighter* It is sometimes argued that all nations at one time or another in their history have conducted "terrorist" attacks and tactics in pursuing their nationalistic goals. According to

¹ For a recent compilation on current thinking on the nature and causes of terrorism in the 20th Century, see Rex A. Hudson et al., The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why? (Washington D.C. Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1999)

the victors, individuals who bring about terrorist acts are seen as heroes and martyrs, while according to the vanquished, they are seen as evil villains and cowards who are despised and hated. Consider the Allied attitude toward the 1944 bomb plot against Hitler. To the Allies, it was seen as a great effort of heroic status and even today most would recognize its "positive" epoch-changing status should it have been successful—save 6 million Jews and hundreds of thousands of soldiers by the death of one person, Adolph Hitler, the leader of the Third Reich However, the Third Reich and Hitler himself, viewed it negatively as an act of terrorism and treason.

Responses to Terrorism

There are three major defensive responses to terrorism All-out-aggression, Just War, and Pacificism The all-out-aggression response is based on an "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" mentality and employs a quick in-kind retaliation against a terrorist aggressor. Such a response is intended to demonstrate to the terrorists that the cost of their acts is too high to continue them. This expression of aggression, like terrorism itself, does not follow Just-War guidelines, but instead embraces the *Political Realist* stand ² Retaliation is immediate, and

² The Realist position on war and international conflict presupposes the view that there are no binding moral obligations among nations (or a nation to a terrorist organization), rather, there are only relations of power between them, unconstrained by moral rules. Often associated with Thomas Hobbes, it identifies war as a state of affairs when humanity is operating outside the realm of social order, where innate human aggression takes over. While a government is

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intensity of aggression is same or even higher as "payback" for terrorist acts

The Just War response, in contrast, attempts to follow accepted protocol in a dedicated military campaign Such a protocol is usually based on three major criteria the principles of self defense, proportionality, and discrimination ³ Others employ a "looser" interpretation of Just War by focusing on the doctrine of double effect, i.e., allowing for some "bad effects" when striving for an overall good ⁴

required to uphold its own internal law, there is no overarching international law that it must uphold, hence, war is an instrument of foreign policy and it is restricted only by prudential concerns, not justice

- 3 The three Just War criteria can be defined as follows (1) The Principle of Self-defense implies that any act of war must have its origins in a self-defensive reaction to an aggressor, a preemptive strike against an anticipated aggressor is also permissible, (2) The Principle of Proportionality requires that the level of force employed must be in proportion to the good that the action is intended to achieve, and, (3) The Principle of Discrimination requires that force should be used in a way that respects the distinction between combatants and non-combatants—one can use force against the combatant but not the non-combatant
- 4 This doctrine of double effect has several restrictions (1) the good but not the bad effect is intended, (2) the good effect is commensurate with the bad effect, (3) the bad effect is not the means to the good effect, (4) the end must bring about a great good or eradicate a great evil, (5) the act itself (apart from its bad effect) is not impermissible and must not be self-defeating or escalate out of control, (6) terrorism or "Total War" which involves the deliberate harming of the innocent, can only be the act of last

Pacifism acknowledges the aggression but does not respond in-kind, rather it seeks a non-aggressive and a nonviolent response. The pacifist response is not exactly the same as "no response" such as denial of aggression, uncontested acquiescence to aggressor, "cowardly" fleeing from danger. Pacifism can arise on a personal or institutional level, and can be applied universally or only to specific cases. However, all expressions of pacifism are driven by a spiritual and/or moral commitment and the character of such reply is always nonviolent response diplomatic measures, non-cooperation, demonstration, etc.

Jama Response to Terrorism

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The central question of this paper is What would be a likely Jaina response to an unjust and vicious social phenomena such as terrorism? There are two ways that one can go about constructing a Jaina response to terrorism. One can model a response based on historical episodes where an aggressor has threatened a Jaina community and observe how the clergy and/or lay Jaina

resort As noted in this section, differences abound within those who support this approach or justification to war, not only in regards to the principle of discrimination, but the very purpose of a Just War For example, Thomas Aquinas contends that a just conflict is not a war of self-defense, but a war to redress wrongs committed by another state; its purpose is to inflict punishment for wrongs committed by a state that inflicted damage on another state and refused to admit or compensate for the transgression Perhaps the only principle that avoids scrutiny and disagreement is the Principle of Proportionality within the "Just War" camp

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people sought a solution Or, one can formulate a "theoretical" response based on Jaina philosophical and religious tenets. In this paper, I will focus on the latter approach, giving only brief references to historical facts when helpful

Emphasis on the principle of *ahimsa* in the Jaina tradition is well known. However, Jainas (mendicants and lay followers alike) realize that it is impossible to live a life totally in accordance with the principle of nonviolence. Historically, the Jaina community cannot be identified as pacifist proper ⁵. There were a number of famous Jaina generals and soldiers, none of whom was condemned by Jaina leaders or followers ⁶. Overall, it can be noted that there does not seem to be clear, well established guidelines on how lay Jaina followers are expected to respond to war and terrorism. Though nonviolence is encouraged, it is not an absolute, there are perceivable exceptions. It is this flexibility that presents uncertain choices as to how one ought to respond individually.

Of the three responses to aggression and terrorism identified above, the lay Jaina position might appear to

⁵ See Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (New York Routledge, 1992), pp 102-103, 193, Padmanabh S Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1979), pp 280-281, 313

⁶ One needs to distinguish between Jaina mendicants and Jaina lay followers. The former are never to engage in any form of violence, let alone warfare, the latter, however, are given much more latitude to make their own decisions regarding warfare and are not condemned for war, and in fact can be praised for valor in a just war. For example, the great image of Bahubali at Shravana-Belagola was commissioned by the greatly adored Jaina General Camundaraya in 948 C.E.

align mainly with the Just War approach, with its emphasis on restraint and self-defense Only a few texts (e.g., Sagaradharmamrtatika, Yasastilakacampa, Nitivakyamrta) make reference to war. According to these texts, one may engage only in a defensive campaign, where one acquires only a less dangerous variety of karmic matter generated from virodhi-himsa or opposing/hindering-based violence. However, the intent is not to encourage such activity but acknowledge its inevitability in a layperson's life, yet, if possible, one is to avoid it ⁸ The Jaina texts, in general, regard acts of slaying—even in the spirit of self defense—to be de-meritorious, as such acts inevitably lead to the accumulation of papa or bad karmic matter ⁹

⁷ The goal of life, according to Jainism, is to reach liberation (moksa) from rebirth and suffering (samsara). Accumulation of karmic matter in association with one's soul (jīva) "weighs down" the soul and causes it to be reborn. As pointed out here, certain types of violence, while still resulting in the accumulation of binding karma, results in karma that is easier to remove, less of an impediment to one's ultimate goal

⁸ For a detailed description of allowance for war, especially for the warrior/king caste (ksatriya), see Jaini, op cit, pp 170ff Jaini correctly points out that much of the discussion on virodhilumsa and views on warfare appears in much later works and not in earliest canonical Jaina texts. Perhaps as social difficulties and the inevitable clashes with Hindus and Muslims arose over the centuries, Jaina authors felt compelled to address how one might deal with the need to engage in limited combat when the need arose to defend oneself from an unjust oppressor—particularly when the Jaina tradition was under attack

⁹ Satrakrtanga, II ii 5-8 "The first kind of committing sin is prompted by a motive This is the case when a man for his own

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Initially, then, we can see a marked difference in western and Jaina discussions of warfare and retaliatory violence. Just War discussions in the West focus on the social justification of warfare and take into consideration the impact of violence on society. In contrast, Jaina discussions focus on the effects of engaging in warfare on an individual's spiritual progress and pursuit of moksa. Yet, ironically, the choice to engage in a justifiable war such as against terrorist, will take one away from this ultimate goal.

Though Jaina lay-followers have engaged in warfare, there has never been any doubt that they were still responsible for their acts, 1e, take rebirth in hell 10 Prima facie, one must question the sanity of the (Jaina) soldier who voluntarily takes on a vocation that not only can likely bring about his untimely death, but also result in

sake does injury to movable or immovable beings, or has it done by another, or consents to another's doing it. Thereby the bad Karma accrues to him. We now treat of the third kind of committing sins, called slaving. This is the case when a man thinking that someone has hurt, hurts, or will hurt him, or one of his people. kills movable or immovable beings, has them killed by another, or consents to another's killing them. Thereby the bad Karma accrues to him." See Hermann Jocobi trans., Jaina Satras., Part II, in Sacred Books of the East, vol. 45 (Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 1964), pp. 357-358

¹⁰ Compare with Jaini's work again (p 314) where he contrasts the Jaina Ramayana hero Laksmana who righteously slays the evil Ravana, yet both end up in the same hell after death, while Yudhisthira and Duryodhana in the Hindu Mahabharata go to heaven after engaging in war and slaying others in battle

an immediate rebirth in hell Clearly there must be reasons that would prompt one to do such an ultimate expression of self-sacrifice (or self-destruction), e.g., defending loved ones, family, community, tradition, religion. Nevertheless, in such an event, the individual strives to "minimize the harm"

The way to "optimum violence" whether engaging in war or responding to terrorism is by observing the following (i) do not kill for the sake of oneself, (ii) do not act with passion or emotion, and (iii) renounce the act or disassociate oneself from it as much as possible. These directives are based on the Jaina explanation of the mechanics of kārmic bondage. More intense the passions (kasāyas) one undergoes, the more intense are the vibrations (yoga) in the mind that bring about the influx (āsrava) of karmas that bind (bandha) to the soul. Take for instance the following passage that can serve to guide a laina in such situations

Taking life away out of passion is violence (Tattvartha sūtra, 78)

One may deprive a creature of his life and not be touched by the act [if] one has been following

[&]quot;I What is meant here by "optimum" is that if one has to engage in violence, one must take into considerations prudential interests—do that course of action that has the minimum negative effect both on one's own spiritual progress and on the surrounding living beings affected by one's actions, one should particularly direct one's attentions to avoid harming "innocent" beings that are not the cause of any threat or harm to another

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the moral code and meticulously observing the religious norm (Siddhasenadvatrimšika, 316)

A person under the sway of passion kills himself at the outset even though another creature might or might not have been killed as a consequence (*Pravacanasara*, 3 16)¹²

Hence, according to Jainism, it is not only what actions we do but also how we do them that ultimately determines the nature of karmas we incur. Accordingly, acting too selfishly, boastfully, or out of self-defense in the course of warfare further stirs one's emotions so as to intensify this influx of karma as well as attract a firmer-binding kind of karma that is harder to remove

In addition to optimizing one's violent activities done during the war or response to terrorism, one must also strive to shed the accumulated papa through good activities leading to nirjara (removal of karmic matter through austerities) and samvara (repelling or stopping the inward flow of karma) Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that all of this "debt" could be removed in one's lifetime Good deeds and austerities serve to remove some of the bad karma associated with one's soul due to violence and may, therefore, decrease one's length in hell, but one cannot avoid altogether the rebirth in hell that awaits one as a result of killing in war or terrorist Textual passages within the Jaina literature actions

¹² These three passages are taken from Umasvati's Tattvartha Satra and summary of commentaries presented in Nathmal Tatia (trans.) That Which Is (San Francisco Harper Collins, 1994), pp. 173-174

express this ability to lessen the final debt without avoiding responsibility for demerit in a number of ways:

Sinners cannot annihilate their works by new works, the pious annihilate their works by abstention (Satrakrtanga I xv 15)13

As a tortoise draws its limbs into its own body, so a wise man should cover, as it were, his sins with his own meditation (Satrakrtanga I viii 16)14

From the discussion above, it is apparent that the Jaina view of life stresses care and amity in the interaction with all living beings. Jainism, in principle, naturally espouses nonviolence and, therefore, some form of pacificism. Yet, as with all traditions, it has to wrestle with the difficulty of what to do with injustice and violence toward others as found in acts such as terrorism. Do we stick firmly to our non-violent principles and simply sit back and watch others suffer unjustly without lending a helping-hand to them?

The Jaina tradition, as is apparent from the following analysis by a contemporary Jaina teacher Muni Shri Nyāyavijayaji, has chosen to tip the scales in favor of the need to act with compassion when it comes to preservation of social order and the lives of the innocent In his work, Jaina Daršana, he attempts to give convincing justification as to why one must help those in need, for not to do so, is itself an act of violence

¹³ H Jacobi (trans), Jaina Sutras, op cit, Part II, p 318

¹⁴ Ibid, p 299

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One commits violence by not contributing to the efforts of stopping violence or by simply remaining indifferent to violence, just as one commits violence by indulging in positive violent activity If one who knows swimming does not rescue a drowning man and simply watches him drowning, it is an act of violence Not to give food to the hungry in spite of one's ability to give them food is also a case of violence Violence of such type is a result of callous carelessness of the form "What concern have I? Why should I invite trouble? I cannot afford to give food, etc., to others" heartedness is opposed to religion and religious practice Universal love is the foundation of religion To remain indifferent to other's happiness, comforts, and benefits for the sake of one's own is also a case of violence 15

In the above passage, Nyāyavijayajī is bringing to our attention the fact that acts of omission (avoiding the stoppage of violence) are just as deadly and impious as acts of commission (to do violence). One can be viewed as complicit in the violence itself, if one does nothing to stop it. Continuing with the same passage, we see this contemporary exponent of Jainism integrate the Gandhian tactic of passive resistance (satyāgraha) as a means to stop violence.

¹⁵ Muni Shri Nvayavijayaji (trans by Nagin J Shah), Jaina Philosophy and Religion (Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 1998), pp 112-113

Nonviolence is a spiritual power Noble bravery or heroism demands self-sacrifice. To sacrifice one's self-interests and even one's life-if need be - while resisting violence and supporting and fostering non-violence is the bravery of high In spite of having his courage and strength to fight, a person who controls his passion and excitement on the passion-rousing and exciting occasions and does not yield to violence 18 the true practitioner nonviolence It is the ksatriyas (members of the warrior class/caste) who have nonviolence, and those who follow their teachings are the brave men of heroic Where there is weakness and. feeling of fear, the practice of non-violence is utterly impossible

In this moving passage we see expressed the kind of intense self-sacrifice that could explain why a Jaina lay-person would jeopardize his/her own immediate spiritual advancement so as to protect and serve those in distress. It is hard to envision a nobler act of courage and compassion, reflecting the same kind of unswerving love that leads a Bodhisattva to postpone his final liberation (nirvana) till all other sentient beings are brought to salvation. Truly this is the fullest expression of the Jaina ideal of ahimsa, where one respects and cares for other living beings so much that one is willing to delay one's own spiritual liberation in an effort to protect others from harm

Although Nyāyavıjayajī does not advocate violence in the above passage, his reference to the ksatriya caste is

¹⁶ Ibid p 112

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important as all the Tirthankaras were drawn from the ksatriya (warrior) caste The Jaina tradition, therefore, could hardly deny this obligation of the individual to defend society from aggression and helps explain the "ease" with which a tradition founded on the practice of extreme could allow participation in nonviolence However, as is well noted in Jama campaigns scholarship,17 there was a concerted effort as time progressed to "internalize" the elements of soldiering from a "fight" against warriors on a battlefield, to a "fight" against ignorance and passions that impede liberation and cause bondage The valor, courage, dedication, strength, bravery, forcefulness, hardships, and pain that once characterized the great "warrior" ksatriya, now denotes the praised "mendicant" ksatriya who conquers the causes of suffering and transmigration through great fortitude, misery, and adversity on the part of the "spiritual warrior" Consider the following passages which typify this shift in focus from the mundane and violent to the sublime and tranquil

A man who conquers nobody but himself is the greater victor than one who conquers thousands and thousands of valuant enemies 18

Fight with your own self, why fight with external enemies? He who conquers himself through himself attains happiness ¹⁹

op cit, p 67ff, Nyayavijayaji, Jaina Philosophy, op cit, p 239

¹⁸ Uttaradhyayanasatra, IX 35 in Nyayavijayaji (trans), p 436 19 Acarangasatra, II iii 77 in Nyayavijayaji (trans), p 437

These passages emphasize not only that there has been a shift in the object of conquest for the warrior, but that the new way is significantly better and more praiseworthy, providing a better "spoils" of the victory. One need only consider that Sanskrit verb root of the most revered and central Jaina title "Jina," is "ji" (to conquer), to see the deep link between the former role of the ksatriya and the new purpose and direction it has taken within Jainism, i.e., "victor over attachment, passions, etc."

Jaina thinkers did not articulate a Just War theory as is found within the western tradition. However, many of the elements found in these western accounts are implicitly contained within Jaina thought in terms of general directives about war As noted above, when war is to be engaged in, Jaina soldiers are never to be the aggressor and are to respond reactively in a self-defense, and to protect innocent life, the Jaina teachings, and the Jaina way of life Jaina tradition also prohibits violence against non-combatants, because one's primary goal in life is to avoid doing harm to all living beings; only those viewed as evil and destructive (combatants) could be the recipients of violence Anticipating the "doctrine of double effect," Jainism distinguishes between intentional, premeditated violence (samkalpaja-himsā) and unintentional, occupational violence (arambhaja-himsa), thereby recognizing that some unintentional violence may occur in the process of carrying out one's daily activities, presumably including warfare if necessitated to do so However, some of the stipulations of the western "looser" interpretation of double effect might not be palatable to the Jaina sensibilities 1e, the allowance of terrorism or total war and the allowance of "minor infractions" to non-

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combatants to bring about a greater good and eradicate a great evil

Looking at the overarching Jaina directive to avoid violence if at all possible, one could presume that Jainas would support the western principle of proportionality as they advocate the least possible violence to ward off a terrorist threat Going one point further, perhaps the real distinctive Jaina contribution to the philosophical dialogue over warfare and prevention against terrorism is the Jaina emphasis on the "internal" dimension of war Under such circumstances where a Jaina must engage in war, he is required to remain calm and detached This emphasis on a cool head will lead to more care to others and improved effectiveness in the military activity. This is due to the fact that a Jaina combatant possesses a heightened sensitivity to when and where violence is warranted and when and where it can be avoided (hence, minimizing the use of violence) Such a use of "optimum violence" produces general reduction in the psychological and spiritual damage that the violence of war accrues to the combatant

It goes without saying that "ideally" a member of the Jaina community would prefer to resolve any conflict, including terrorism in a peaceful nonviolent fashion, exhibiting a nonviolence to all-even the terrorists themselves Such an approach may incorporate the type of passive resistance methods employed by Gandhi and embraced by Muni Nyāyavijavajī who is quoted earlier in the paper However, in confronting with a megalomaniac, pathological serial killer like Adolph Hitler of Nazi Germany, Osama bin Laden of al-Qaida, Shoko Asahara of Aum Shinrikya, or Prabhakaran of the Liberation Tigers,

the Jamas may seriously wonder if there is any nonviolent means to arrest such violent and destructive propensity

Terrorist Arguments and Jaina Response: Conclusion

This paper initially offered two argumentsutilitarian and relativist-intended to give moral and rational grounds for terrorist acts. We are now in a position to provide a probable response to these lines of argumentation An analysis of Utilitarian argument from the Jaina perspective would result in finding fault with this line of thinking Fundamentally, the Jaina would say that an injustice or wrong cannot be "fixed" by resorting to the killing of a large number of people, especially innocent non-combatants who are the usual recipient of terrorist attacks A Jaina position would question whether violence is the only means to reverse injustices and oppression, especially given such world-wide global "overseers" as the United Nations that can be called upon to remedy a bad situation Clearly, the slaying of thousands (if not millions) of innocent beings can never be the means to an end, regardless of what good it is perceived to bring about. Further, in the long history of terrorism it has seldom, if ever, brought about the ends that it was employed to achieve The Utilitarian attempt to stack up the lives of sentient beings in some sort of mathematical equation is the most atrocious perversion imaginable against the basic sanctity of life The scale of violence and suffering in terrorism is such an immense evil that no good consequence can outweigh it. Even if one were to generate a costbenefit analysis, it is hard to see how the alleged benefits to the perceived "oppressed people" on the side of the terrorist activities, can carry more weight than the

resulting suffering in rest of world. The collective misery, fear, costs, loss of general well-being and happiness of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people directly or indirectly victimized, outweighs the intended "newly gained" happiness of the "oppressed people". This sort of analysis fails to recognize the inherent value in each and every life, whereby no one life or group of lives can negate the value and sanctity of another life, let alone justify the deaths of thousands of innocent persons.

In response to the Relativist argument, a Jaina analysis would focus not on which side is right or wrong, who is hero or villain, but rather on the character, purpose, means, and goal of both the undertaker of violence (himsaka) and the act of violence itself (himsa). If the act intentionally brings about the suffering and/or death of one or more innocent (non-combatant) persons, then it is wrong regardless of the nationality or identity of the agent and the purpose and means used to bring about the action As noted above, it is not obvious that previous acts of terror have exhausted all other means to resolve the "alleged injustice or oppression" before unleashing their hemous acts of mass destruction If one has properly subdued one's passions and emotions, then a Jaina mediator could objectively determine what injustices (if anv at all) have been committed or continue to be committed and propose appropriate remedies to resolve the tensions and return society back to a stable condition It violent activities persist, then a Jaina position would require that a policy of "optimum violence" be adopted so as to reduce the threat posed by the irrational aggressor

While the Jaina lay population felt the need to occasionally engage in war to defend themselves and their

fellow citizens, the monks were totally forbidden from such acts. The Jaina monk is instructed to remain passive even when under attack, to make no effort to fight back or later retaliate—instead to remain calm and detached. Take for instance the following passage from Acaranga Satra which shows a clam and totally nonviolent Mahavira under extremely violent circumstances.

In his resting place crawling or flying animals attacked him, bad people or lance bearers attacked him foul smells and sounds always well controlled, he bore the different sorts of feelings persevered in his meditations, free from resentment ²⁰

As a living model of total compassion and nonviolence Mahāvīra preached the same to his followers as is clea from the following passages

As I feel every pain and agony from death down to the pulling of my hair, in the same way, be sure of this, all kinds of living beings feel the same pain and agony. For this reason all sorts of living beings should not be beaten, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor deprived of life 21.

All creatures who commit sins will suffer and tremble Considering this, a wise monk who has ceased to sin should abstain from violence

²⁰ Hermann Jacobi (trans), Jaina Sūtras, op cit, Part I viii pp 83-85

²¹ Satrakrtanga II 1 48 Hermann Jacobi (trans), Jaina Satr Part II, p 351

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with regard to moveable and immovable beings 22

And yet the Jaina lay people cannot follow this total nonviolence. This apparent contradiction between mendicant and lay Jaina approach to terrorism and violence has generated some criticism among scholars. As a postscript to this paper, I wish to address such criticism. At the outset let us be clear that the lay Jaina followers do not complain about this difference. Nor do they see themselves as "used" by the mendicants as the "first line of defense" so that the monks can avoid accumulating bad karma or risk dying on the battlefield.

As a starting place, let us note that the world by definition is a world of suffering and there is little chance that one-in and of oneself-can bring an end to this terrible state of affairs Second, by reaching liberation or climbing closer to it, ine does make a significant improvement in the overall "spiritual atmosphere" around oneself According to Jainism, being in the presence of a lina (spiritual conqueror) is said to have an extremely positive influence on a person in terms of their overall attitudes, emotions, and preoccupations in life-hence reducing one's stress, anger, and hostility toward others in the world Third, once one has taken the great vows of a mendicant (mahavratas) he or she is placed in a special role in the Jaina community, that is, one of great reverence and support because this person has taken on a life of total renunciation (sarvavirati) This is an extremely difficult life

²² Satrakrtanga I vii 20 Hermann Jacobi (trans), Jaina Satras, Part II, p., 295

of severe austerity and discipline, denying all the wants and desires that plague ordinary persons. The members of the Jaina community take it upon themselves freely to support this most precious undertaking even if it, at times, exerts demands on their own lives. Fourth, all laypersons believe that eventually they will enter upon this path (either later in this or a future lifetime), hence, they can hope that just as they support the monks now, later the Jaina community will support them when they have taken on the great vows.

So we see that in the Jaina community, the mendicants take on a special status that removes them from worldly obligations and duties so that they may dedicate themselves fully to the spiritual quest. It may be noted that this is not a unique phenomenon to the Jaina community as most, if not all, societies have recognized and supported certain individuals who have taken upon themselves to seek final truth or a reclusive lifestyle. To expect that such individuals violate some of their vows and highly restrictive principles for a momentary threat or problem posed against a local community would be to break the trust between the lay and mendicant members of the community as well as undermine the greater good that is expected to be generated from the monks' efforts toward liberation.

Mahavira taught ahimsa to all As more people reach the state of true vision (samyak-daršana) and move to higher gunasthanas (stages of spiritual awakening), the chances of greater world peace will increase and overall sentiments of aggression and suffering will decrease Some within the tradition might postulate that the mendicants work on a different, more fundamental levels

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in dealing with aggression as expressed in terrorism. To reduce terrorism in the world, they operate at the spiritual levels, such as, purifying the general atmosphere, calming aggressive passions and changing selfish attitudes.

Finally, it should be noted as a point of clarification that Jaina mendicants are not oblivious to problems in the world nor do they turn their back on the changing needs of the lay community that supports them. The only real difference is that they cannot and will not intentionally hurt another living being, regardless of how evil and despicable a terrorist may be Nevertheless, there is nothing that can prevent the mendicant from participating in nonviolent, passive-resistant demonstrations against tyranny or injustice, but, ultimately they have to stop just short of the option of violence in stopping aggression.

Ahimsā and "Just War" in Jainism

PADMANABH S JAINI

The image of the Jainas throughout their long history has been associated with the doctrine of ahimsa, and the Jainas themselves have ardently adhered to the observance of the practice in their day-to-day life. The fact that even in contemporary society where material culture is allpervasive, Jaina mendicants, who scrupulously adhere to their yow of nonviolence, still number over 2000 monks and 5,000 nuns--a large number indeed considering the very small size of the Jaina community--testifies to their continued total dedication to the ideal of ahimsa Jainas as well abjure all forms of intentional violence and reduce the necessary amount of violence associated with their occupations to the absolute minimum Without such dedication, ahimsa itself would remain either a fond memory of a lost golden age or an unachievable future goal

Fundamental to the Jama principle of *ahimsa* is the belief that each living being possesses an individual soul. This soul is characterized by consciousness, undergoes continuous changes between various grades of purity and impurity, ignorance and omniscience. Jamas conceive that

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a soul takes up a new body after the death of its present body according to its volitional activities. This is accomplished by the soul drawing toward itself a subtle kind of matter (karma), which then envelops it and defines for the soul the new kind of body it will receive. The volitional force driving the soul is what determines the state in which the soul finds itself. If the soul becomes subject to attachment and aversion, it gets tainted by himsa and thus becomes harmful to itself and others. If the soul maintains detachment and compassion, it is characterized by ahimsa and thus becomes non-injurious to others around itself.

The orientation of the Jaina discussion on *alumsa*, therefore, proceeds from the perspective of one's own soul and not so much from the standpoint of the protection of other beings or the welfare of humanity as a whole. The Jainas rightly claim that compassion toward other living beings is not possible without realizing the value of self, the source of all spiritual wisdom. That is why the Jainas uphold the maxim, "First knowledge then compassion. Thus does one remain in full control. How can an ignorant person be compassionate when he cannot distinguish the good from the evil?"²

^{&#}x27;apradurbhavah khalu ragadinam bhavaty ahimsety'

tesam evotpattili limseti jinagamasya samksepah// (Assuredly the non-appearance of attachment and other passions is alimsa, and their appearance is himsa. This is a brief summary of the Jaina doctrine) See Purusarthasiddhyupaya of Amrtacandra Suri, v 44 Sanskrit Text and English translation by Ajit Prasada (Lucknow 1933)

²padhamam nanam tao daya, evam citthai savvasamjae See Dasavaikalika Sutra, iv

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Jainas seem to be unique in believing that even animals, like humans, possess mind and the five senses, and are capable of spiritual sensibilities. A beautiful story about an elephant narrated in the Jaina scriptures illustrates the awareness and moral capacity ascribed to animals by the Jainas.

This is the tale of an elephant, who was the leader of a large herd that was caught in a huge forest fire All the animals of the forest ran from their haunts and gathered around a lake so that the entire area was jammed with beings, both large and small After standing there for quite some time, the elephant lifted his leg to scratch himself, and immediately a small hare ran to occupy the spot vacated by his raised foot Rather than trampling the helpless animal, however, the elephant's mind was filled with great compassion for the plight of his fellow creature, indeed his concern for the hare's welfare was so intense that he is said to have cut off forever his associations with future animal destinies The elephant stood with one leg raised for more than three days until the fire abated and the hare was able to leave By then, however, the elephant's whole leg had gone numb and, unable to set down his foot, he toppled over While maintaining the purity of his mind, he finally died and was reborn as Prince Megha, son of King Srenika, the ruler of Magadha Subsequently, he became an eminent Jaina monk under Mahavira 3

³ S Bharilla (ed), *Jñatadharmakathah*, Prakrit Text (Pathardi, 1964), chapter 1, pp 180-187

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This story is a perfect example of the choice that one may make in understanding a good or evil act. The elephant had the option of simply trampling the hare but refused to do so, preferring to act as would a morally and non-violently inclined human. Such non-violent behavior was crucial to the spiritual progress of the elephant's soul in its subsequent life.

In Jainism the awareness of *ahimsa* is a constant concern for the individual, involving total mindfulness in mental, oral and physical activities. *Ahimsa*, therefore, is a creed in its own right, identified with its own spiritual impulses and informing all of one's activities. It may truly be called a way of personal discipline

This discipline is followed to varying extents by the members of the Jaina community as expressed by two explicit schemes of vows and restraints called major vows (mahavrata) and minor vows (anuvrata) applicable to the mendicants and the lay people respectively ⁴ The commitment of Jaina mendicants to the principle of ahimsa is absolute since they are required to renounce their social involvement and rely for their legitimate needs on the voluntary support of the laity. The mendicants thus became embodiment of ahimsa and the exemplars of that ideal for the lay people who accept a great many grades of nonviolence allowing them to gradually progress toward the state achieved by the mendicants. However, there are certain basic expectations of them. In order to be

⁴ For a detailed description of the Jaina vows, see P. S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1979), pp. 157-185

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considered as Jaina, they must refrain from samkalpaja himsa, that is engaging in intentionally planned and carried out violence or injury, such as the intention with which a hunter might stalk his prey, uphold their commitment to vegetarianism;5 and adopt a proper means of livelihood so as to restrict the extent of himsa The Jaina lawgivers drew up a long list of professions that were unsuitable for a Jaina lay person 6 Certain Jaina texts forbade, for example, animal husbandry and trade in alcohol or animal byproducts, leaving only such professions as commerce, arts and crafts, clerical and administrative occupations In all these activities, some degree of violence was inevitable. Jainas could engage in such activities provided they behaved with scrupulous honesty and utmost heedfulness Injury done while engaged in such activities was considered arambhaja-himsa (occupational violence), which could be minimized by choosing a profession like business that was reasonably free from causing harm, as indeed, Jainas have

⁵ Jainas extended their dietary restrictions to various types of vegetable life as well. In their attempts to categorize those types of plants that could be consumed with relatively less harm, Jainas developed a whole science of botany that was unique in Indian religious history. For a list of plants and substances forbidden to devout Jainas, see R. Williams, Jaina Yoga. A survey of Medieval Śravakācaras (London Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 110-116

⁶ For a list of occupations forbidden to Jaina layman, see R Williams, Jaina Yoga A Survey of Medieval Śravakacaras, op cit, pp 117-122

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traditionally done Military service, for example, was not generally expected of Jaina laymen, a fact that allowed them to observe their precept of ahimsa and follow it within the narrow sphere as laid down in their religious law

It is apparent that Jaina lawgivers defined the intentional himsa with great care and expressly forbade it to all Jaina believers but gave Jaina laymen dispensation with regard to certain types of violence associated with their legitimate occupations There remained, however, a certain grey area that could not be so explicitly characterized as either expressly evil or provisionally acceptable. This grey area may include the "just war" or violence in defense of one's property, honor, family, community or nation In this matter, the individual had to take into account not only the duties to himself but to society as a whole The duty of a Jaina mendicant in this case was quite clear he must not retaliate in any way and must be willing to sacrifice his own life in order to keep his vow of total nonviolence For a Jaina lay person, however, appropriate conduct is not so clear cut There were always situations in which violence would be a last resort in guiding the interests of himself and his community The Jaina lawgivers of medieval times accorded with customary Hindu law in these matters Somadeva (c tenth century), for example, stipulated that "a king should strike down only those enemies of his kingdom who appear on the battlefield bearing arms, but

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never those people who are downtrodden, weak, or who are friends "7

For a religion that expected so much from its followers in terms of keeping the vows of *ahimsa*, such perfunctory advice on the legitimacy of Jaina participation in warfare must be considered a serious oversight Nevertheless, there are indications both in canonical scriptures (some portions of which may go back to 500 B C.E.) and in much later narrative literature that the Jaina lawgivers were concerned about this problem and recognized the contradictions inherent in the expression, "just war"

One attempt to resolve this problem is indicated by the term *virodhi-himsā* unat is, countering violence with violence. Jainas allowed that such violence could be justified, albeit as a final resort, for the Jaina layman whose conscience demanded that he defend his rights or for one who was called upon to fight by his king. However, as the following narrative will show, the Jainas neither glorified the bravery involved in such violence nor held forth the prospect of birth in heaven to the protagonists, whether winner or loser.

Take, for instance, the tale of Bāhubali, who is placed by the Jainas at the beginning of the present time-cycle, which ushered in human civilization 8 During this

⁷ Yasastılaka-campa (Bombay Nırnaysagara Press, 1903), pp 11, 97

⁸ For accounts of Bahubali and Bharata, see Pannalal Jaina, ed Ädipurāna of Jinasena (Varanasi 1963) chapter 36, Helen M Johnson trans, Trisastiśalākāpurusacaritra (The Lives of Sixty-three

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golden age, Rsabha, the first of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, had just appeared in the world and introduced both the secular laws legislating the conduct of society as well as the monastic laws governing the pursuit When Rsabha renounced the world to of salvation become the first Jaina mendicant of this age, his eldest son. Bharata, claimed kingship over his entire domain But the younger son, Bahubali, claimed title to a share of the kingdom and refused to submit to the rule of his elder Disregarding the principle of ahimsa, he challenged his brother to face him and his army on the battlefield Bharata recognized that his duty as a king to force the submission compelled him insubordinate brother, and war seemed unavoidable

The king's advisors, alarmed at the prospect of mass carnage, proposed single combat between the two brothers as a means of settling the dispute. The brothers agreed. In a wrestling combat that followed, Bāhubali defeated his brother Bharata and attained a decisive victory. At this point, one would have expected that Bāhubali would cap his triumph by proclaiming himself king. But the Jaina texts maintain instead that he was overcome by great remorse for having humiliated his brother and instantly awakened to both futility of sovereignty and bonds of possessions, which had blinded him to the true nature of the soul. To the great astonishment of the spectators and the defeated king, Bāhubali discarded his royal insignia and renounced the

Illustrious Persons) by Hemacandra, vol I (Baroda Oriental Institute, 1962)

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world and declared himself a Jaina monk. The storytellers relate that Bahubali stood steadfast in meditation at that very spot for so long that creepers grew over his body and anthills formed at his feet. Bahubali thus became omniscient and continues to be revered by the Jaina community as the first man of this age to have attained emancipation from the cycle of birth and death. Colossal images of him in meditational posture are worshipped to this day.

Jamas drew several morals from this story that are relevant in guiding Jaina laymen in determining their proper duty when confronted by an adversary in battle First, it was maintained that valor was preferable to cowardice Bahubali was right in standing up for his familial rights to a share of the domain, but Bharata was also correct in attempting to maintain the territorial integrity of his realm. The king's ministers were also right to reduce the necessary violence to an absolute minimum by proposing single combat between the two brothers rather than involving both armies in the dispute But the Jainas ultimately maintained that the victory of Bahubali would not have truly settled anything for, had he succeeded to kingship as he was entitled, a new cycle of violence would certainly have ensued on the part of the loyalists of the vanguished monarch This would have proved the truth of the Jaina maxim that all possessions are evil, for true nonviolence cannot be practiced either by an individual or by a society that craves possessions and must therefore fight to acquire, augment, and protect its wealth Total nonviolence is possible when possessions are relinquished, as was so admirably demonstrated by

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Bāhubali's renunciation of the world after his victory Thus, again is upheld the Jaina belief that only the valiant and the self-denying can pursue nonviolence to its fullest extent, not the cowardly or the covetous

For the layman who was unable to forsake all possessions but was nevertheless keen to minimize his himsa, the Jainas introduced a precept called parigrahaparimana (voluntarily setting a limit on one's possessions) and included it as the last of the five anuvratas (minor vows) A Jama layman wishing to take this vow was asked by a mendicant to set specific limits on his possession of such temporal items as gold and silver, real estate, grain, and furniture, and to vow not to acquire amounts in excess of this limit He was further encouraged to lower these limits by a certain amount each year in emulation of total non-possession (aparigraha) of the mendicant. In demanding that an advocate of ahimsa should renounce all properties in excess of one's legitimate needs, the Jamas were showing great insight into the possibility of building a society that practiced minimal himsa It must still be said, however, that the Jainas lacked either the vision or the organization to translate this precept into a general social philosophy. It is much to the credit of Mahatma Gandhi, who was undoubtedly influenced by several devout Jainas,9 that he espoused a philosophy founded upon ahimsa and aparigraha

⁹ See correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and a revered Jaina saint Srimad Rajacandra as given in the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (Government of India Publications 1958-75), Vol 32, pp 601-602

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Another memorable story appears in the canonical Bhagavati-satra, which purports to preserve the words of the last Jaina Tirthankara, Mahavira There Mahavira was asked about a war between Konika, the emperor of Magadha during Mahavira's time, and a federation of eighteen independent kings that had reportedly left 840,000 men dead Mahavira's disciple specifically wanted to know whether it was true that all those men would be reborn in heaven because they had perished on the battlefield. In answer to this question, Mahavira declared that only one man out of this large army was reborn in heaven, and only one reborn as a man, all the rest ended up in hell or in the animal realms.

Contrary to the widely held belief that death on the battlefield is almost equal to holy martyrdom, the Jaina answer as put in the mouth of Mahavira shows extraordinary courage of their conviction that death accompanied by hatred and violence can never be salutary and must therefore lead to unwholesome rebirths. Mahavira's answer to this question is truly memorable and departs drastically from the traditional belief of Hindus, as recorded in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, where Krsna, the incarnation of Visnu, tells Arjuna, who was hesitant to participate in the war, that death in battle leads to heaven

hato va prapsyası svargam, jitva va bhokşyase mahim/tasmad uttastha Kaunteya, yuddhaya krtanıścayah//10

¹⁰ Bhagavad Gita, 11, 37

(Slain, you will attain heaven, conquering you will enjoy earth Therefore, rise, Oh Arjuna, resolved to do battle)

To return to our narrative, Mahavira then proceeds to tell the story of two fortunate soldiers.11 The man who ended up in heaven was a Jaina named Varuna, who had taken the anuvratas as a Jaina layman before he was drafted by his king and sent to the front Prior to his departure, however, Varuna vowed that he would never be the first one to strike anyone, he would always wait until he was struck first before attacking Armed with bow and arrow, he took his chariot into battle and came face to face with his adversary Varuna declared that he would not take the first shot and called on his opponent to shoot Only after his opponent's arrow was already on its deadly flight did he let fly his own arrow His enemy was killed instantly, but Varuna himself lay mortally wounded Realizing that his death was imminent, Varuna took his chariqt off the battlefield and sat on the ground Holding his hands together in veneration to his teacher, Mahavira, he said

Salutations to Mahāvīra, wherever he may be, who administered to me the layman's precepts Now the time has come for me to face my death Making Jina Mahāvīra my witness, I undertake the total renunciation of all forms of violence, both gross and subtle May I remain steadfast in

¹¹ See *Bhagavati-sūtra* (*Viyahapannatti*), VII, 9 (#302 ff) Summary by Jozef Deleu, Tempelhof (Rijks University of Gent), 1970.

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maintaining absolute detachment from this body 12

Saying thus, he pulled out the arrow and, his mind at peace, died instantly and was reborn in heaven. The second man, a friend of Varuna, was himself severely wounded in the battle. Even so he followed Varuna in order to help him in his resolve and witnessed his peaceful death. He died soon afterwards in the same fashion and was reborn as a human being

Thus, the Jamas are clear in their belief that a wholesome rebirth is assured only to those who die a peaceful death and who renounce all hostility and violence Without achieving these qualities, no amount of valor on the battlefield guarantees even true temporal victory, let alone improvement in one's spiritual life. This does not mean that the Jama lay adherent is a total pacifist. A layperson, as we saw above, however, is given the option of countering an armed adversary in kind, with the reminder that it is proper for a Jaina not to be the first to strike The combatant would also be asked to bear in mind the Jaina doctrine of anekantavada (multiple perspectives), which allows a Jaina to recognize the validity of his adversary's point of view as well By enabling him to recognize an area of common ground between himself and his opponent, a Jaina would, therefore, be able to avoid confrontation and try reconciliation, and resort to warfare only out of dire necessity The Jamas thus appear to have

¹²Bhagavatīsatra,VII,9, #302 ff. (Suttagame, ed by Pupphabhikkhū Gudgaon-Delhi, 1953)

outlined a path of nonviolence that would allow a lay adherent to conduct his daily life with human dignity while permitting him to cope with the unavoidable reality of the world in which violence is all-pervasive

The Jamas would be the first to admit in accordance with their own doctrine of syadvada (qualified assertions) that other religions too might discuss some of these same issues But what distinguishes the Jaina conception of nonviolence from that found in other world religions is that it is truly a personal way of religious discipline It forbids the taking of all life, however, that might be justified or excused in other religions and warns that nothing short of hell or animal rebirth awaits those who kill or who die while entertaining thoughts of violence Killing, even in self defense or for the "right cause" would lead to rebirth in hell For example, in the Jama Ramayana, the "good brother" Laksamana goes to the very same hell as does the wicked Ravana, whom he "justifiably" destroyed in an heroic manner 13

This perspective on nonviolence, however, does allow a Jaina to sacrifice his own life in order to guard and nurture his soul. This is technically known as sallekhana, literally meaning "thinning one's own body and passions." Such an act is governed by several conditions, the most important of which are that it can be undertaken only by a public declaration, never in private, and only through the gradual withdrawal from taking all forms of food and water. The basic justification for sallekhana is that a person who has conscientiously led a holy life has earned the right to die in peace, and in full possession of his faculties,

¹³ Ibid, p 314, fn 62

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without any attachment to worldly bonds, including attachment to his own body. The person allows his life to ebb away at its own natural pace, neither desiring to prolong his life artificially nor anticipating unduly his demise. In this way, the soul may remain unaffected by the injuries (humsa) inflicted upon it by attachment and aversion and may meet its corporeal death in perfect peace with itself and the world.

The Jaina commitment to ahimsa and a desire for a peaceful world may be measured by the following lines from the religion's most solemn prayer which every Jaina hopes to uphold while breathing his or her last moments of life

khamemi savva-jive, savve jiva khamantu me/ metti me savva-bhūesu, veram majjha na kenavi//¹⁵

(I ask pardon of all creatures, may all of them pardon me May I have friendship with all beings and enmity with none)*

¹⁴ For further discussion about sallekhana, see P S. Jairu, The Jaina Path of Punfication, op cit., pp 227-233

¹⁵ Quoted from *Pratikramana sutra*, 49, in R Williams, *Jama* Yoga (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1963), p 207

[&]quot;The above is excerpted from "Ahimsa A Jaina Way of Spiritual Discipline," published in Collected Papers on Jaina Studies by P S Jaini (Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 2000)

Nonviolence for All

SATISH KUMAR

When I was an eighteen year old Jain monk, I read the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi I felt that as a monk I was concerned with personal nonviolence But Gandhi had made personal nonviolence go a bit further and extended it into social, political and ecological nonviolence Of course, the roots of all these different modes of nonviolence are there in the Jain concept of ahimsa But in practice we Jains have become too centered on personal nonviolence. Influenced by Gandhi, I wanted to extend nonviolence in to social, political and ecological spheres So I remain a Jain, although no longer a monk, and I continue my quest on the path of holistic I do so because I believe that the Jain nonviolence philosophy is dynamic rather than static dogma

My life as a monk was only a beginning, not the end of the journey For example, you put a small seedling in a little container because a small seedling cannot withstand the cold weather, the wind, and the storm outside in the fields So as a good gardener you put the seedling in a small pot When the seedling becomes a big

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and strong plant then you need to put the plant in the field to become a tree If you always keep the plant in the pot, it will never become a full tree Maybe it will remain as a bonsai tree but if you want a dynamic and natural tree you have to put the seedling out in the field

I am deeply grateful to my Guru and teacher, Acarya Tulsi. The foundation of my life was laid out by him under a protective and secure environment. From him I learned the basic principles of Jainism, including ahimsa, the reverence for all life. But then an urge came into my heart and I felt it was time to go in the wilderness—go out in the field and out of that beautiful, secure, loving, caring and protective environment of the monastic order.

A Jain monk is called a "muni" The word "muni' means a person who keeps maunam or silence believed that when Mahavīra gave his first sermon sitting under the tree, he sat in silence Animals, birds, angels and humans - all came for this great event, and they all understood the message of Mahavira in their own language Mahavira was not using any word since he was the "mahamuni" So munis keep silence and teach or communicate their message through living and through setting example The lay people, in Jain tradition, are called śravaka (male) and śravika (female) The words śravaka and śravika literally mean people who listen Isn't this a wonderful situation the teacher is silent and the student is listening. So, when we go for darsana of our guru, we don't have to talk to him, we just go to see him Darsana means seeing - not merely through the two eyes which see things superficially but seeing through the eye of the heart, the eve of imagination, which we call the

"third eye" We go to the temple for darsana and sit there in the presence of the sacred image. This is one of the finest examples of nonviolence where even words are unnecessary, because there is risk that the words could be misunderstood or may hurt someone.

As a muni you keep a mukhapattika (a cloth strip covering the mouth - a practice among most of the Svetambara Jain mendicants). This is to remind you that you need to speak only when you must, speak as little as you can, and think three times what you want to say and speak only if it is appropriate. Or your words may fall on a barren ground. You do this because you want to avoid violence, and the worst kind of violence is the violence of speech. The language of politicians is often violent. Such language causes wars. Wars start in our minds and in our speech. Only later we send, the big bombers to the battlefields. So politicians should learn to practice silence, and they should learn what to speak, how to speak and when to speak. This is a great contribution of Jain religion to the world.

I am reminded of a story One day the Mughal emperor Akbar asked his prime minister, Birbal, "What is the sweetest thing in the world?" Birbal replied: "My lord, words are the sweetest and the words are the bitterest" Akbar did not believe this How can words be sweet or bitter, he thought and dismissed the idea. A few days later, to prove his point, Birbal invited the empress for dinner at his house. When she was leaving his house, after a sumptious dinner, Birbal instructed his servants to clean off after the queen, using swear words and inappropriate language. The empress overheard the words of insult and was shocked to learn that Birbal thought of

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her in such a negative way She felt deeply wounded When she returned to her palace she complained to the emperor about the abusive incident. This was very hard for the emperor to believe. The next day, he summoned the prime minister. When Birbal arrived, Akbar asked him "How dare you insult my wife using swear words?" Birbal replied "My lord, you said words are neither sweet nor bitter, so how can they cause harm or discomfort? How can words hurt the empress?"

Nonviolence, begins in our minds The words are the first external expression of our thoughts. When we write books and articles we are told that we should be honest and critical We should say what we think of other people and their works But in the Jain tradition we think otherwise We put nonviolence of thought and speech on top of our practice. If you want to practice nonviolence in your family, with your colleagues or business associates then making the use of appropriate language would be a good start Imagine the violence language can cause The breakups of marriages leading to bitter court cases always start with violent language. If we examine carefully, we will find that all quarrels are rooted in the breakdown of communication and/or use of abusive Therefore, if we can practice nonviolence of speech, then many of our family quarrels, disputes among nations and conflicts among parties and religious sects will be considerably reduced, if not disappear altogether. So let us practice nonviolence in our speech speak less, think what we are going to say, and how we are going to say it. This may be the first step toward a nonviolent world order

I speak about nonviolence because I personally witnessed the events of September 11, 2001 That evening I was due to give a public lecture in New York Open Center I was staying close to the twin towers of the World Trade Center in Greenwich Village That morning I was woken up by the loud noise of emergency vehicles We could not figure out what was going on Then we got a call from my friend's wife asking us to put the television on, which we did We could not believe what we saw on the television screen. So we went outside. We were only a 10-15 blocks from the location. As we stood there on the Seventh Avenue, we saw a plane come over the second tower, went around the tower and then pierced through it. We were shocked Lots of people gathered on the street The traffic stopped We were all speechless People were hugging each other We saw people jumping off from the windows of the twin towers. A few minutes later, we saw the two towers collapse I went to the Open Center that afternoon Of course the meeting was cancelled We decided to put a notice outside as a gesture of nonviolence The notice invited those who needed help or counseling About 25 people came and we talked

I tell you this story in the context of nonviolence as a Jain, who has dedicated his whole life to nonviolence, first as a monk, and later going around the world for peace, walking like a Jain monk from India to America without a penny - totally without money. Just going from door to door and village to village and depending on the goodwill and hospitality of the people. I walked, along with a friend, about 8000 miles to promote the principles of nonviolence. Then witnessing the criminal violence of September 11 was devastating. You can imagine my

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situation. My entire body was saturated with feelings of nonviolence Seeing such catastrophe made nonviolence even more urgent. I feel that September 11 has changed or should change our lives The question is, In what ways are we going to change? Are we going to create a culture of nonviolence where violence, attack, wars and killings become a taboo, and where we are never prepared to take the route of violence?

If we analyze history, we will recognize the fact that events are never isolated September 11 did not happen out of the blue, without any cause or reason Why this happened here? Are there seeds of this event in the Gulf war or in some other war? America is the most powerful country in the world It is now the only Super Power America is strong not just militarily but also financially America is also blessed with intelligence and cultures, with science and technology, with literature and There is so much wisdom in this country America is also blessed with tremendous landscape forests, deserts, animals, flowers, rivers and mountains What a wonderful country it is Can this country show a new way? Can America show the way of nonviolence? Remember, nonviolence is the way of the brave and the strong, not of the cowards and the weak

America cannot stand alone We have to move from "I" to "Us" and "Me" to "We." We live in the same one world, on the same planet Earth – our home If ever there was an urgent message it is the message of one earth If Americans were to stand together with the world, then we can create a beautiful world, a world without violence

We must recognize that hunger is also violence, starvation is also violence. If people are dying of

starvation, the world cannot be at peace In Jain tradition we say there are 84 million species (jwa yoni) We humans on this earth are only one of the 84 million species. This is the humility of the Jains The 84 million species minus the humans live and die, and they never try to wage wars. Therefore, we have to thank them. We humans wage wars, not they Elephants, snakes, tigers or any of the other 84 million species except humans, have never produced the nuclear bomb. So we must be humble. We must try not to be too clever. Our cleverness may be our weakness. Our humility may be our strength.

Jain tradition is a non-dualistic tradition. We are all connected and we stand together in relation to one another We cannot exist by ourselves. So America and rest of the world cannot stay separate "The West and the Rest" has been the slogan of some western thinkers, business leaders and politicians. The superior West and the inferior rest. They are trying to globalize western values everyone must drink Coca Cola, eat MacDonald's, wear blue jeans, watch Hollywood films showing naked bodies in the bed with sex scenes and then tell a Muslim that this is the culture of liberty which you should be adopting. This is not the globalization we want. What we do want is the globalization of love, of nonviolence, of peace

The title of my new book is "You are therefore I am" This is in contrast to Rene Descartes, the French philosopher, who said "I think, therefore, I am" "I" not "We" I think in my head in isolation and therefore I am So America stands alone. My family stands alone. I stand alone This is the cult of individualism. It is this cult which gives birth to consumerism and selfishness.

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In nonviolence we all live together and depend on each other When we are violent to others, we are violent to ourselves. When we are attacking others, we are attacking ourselves. Nonviolence is not a matter of convenience. I will talk to my friend – but can I talk to my enemy? Can I listen to people who are in disagreement with me? Can I ask them, Why are you so angry? What have I done to you, my brothers and sisters, that you are ready to kill yourself? Have I damaged you in anyway? Have I offended you? It is very easy for a strong country like the United States to go and bomb a weak country. But talking to an enemy requires real strength and courage.

In the Jain tradition we have a figure of Mahabahubali, who is regarded a great symbol of power and strength. He was fighting with his brother Bharata with a sword. So angry was he that he lifted his arm with the naked sword to kill Bharata. Then he paused and asked himself, What am I doing? Is this my real strength? What satisfaction will this give me? Then and there he stopped He killed his ego and anger instead of killing his brother. He removed hair from his head and renounced the world. The event transformed his life. Near Bangalore there is a big statue of Bahubali. We should celebrate his legacy of great courage not to kill but to overcome ego and anger.

Mahavira is a super example of nonviolence He grew up as a prince. He had all the power, wealth and comfort. But he decided to leave these behind and go with a begging bowl. There is a great message in this renunciation of power and affluence for us and for the world. Modern democracies encourage us to seek power.

It is believed that only through acquisition of political power we can help others Therefore, individuals and parties spend millions of dollars to gain power Mahavira was born to rule He was given the opportunity to do good by governing and controlling others Yet, he renounced power, wealth and the material world Goodness, virtues, service, compassion and peace cannot be imposed from top down These qualities have to grow from the bottom of our hearts, everyone's heart Mahavira advocated spiritual democracy He worked for social change through personal purification and transformation of the soul By renouncing political power he gained spiritual power. There is a powerful lesson here for modern democracies which have become power hungry and corrupt So much is their concern for power that it must be maintained at any cost and defended with weapons of mass destruction and other violent means Mahavira teaches us to serve rather than to rule

Now the Jains need to wake up We have been sleeping for too long and keeping nonviolence to ourselves as if it is too precious, so keep it confined We need to communicate the message of nonviolence actively in political, social, ecological domains. In Jain tradition, ahimsa and anekanta go together, like two legs of a human being. There is no one truth but many truths. It is like the great garden of Eden, the humanity and the world are diverse-we have the black people, the white people, the yellow people, the dancing people, the singing people, the tall people, and the small people. Similarly, there are other living beings who walk, crawl, swim or fly. This is biodiversity. Twenty six centuries ago, Mahavira celebrated the diversity of life, diversity of truths and

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diversity of philosophy We must not narrow it down in some kind of dogmatic ideology

Let us move forward Let us see how ahimsa and anekanta can be the guiding principles for the twenty-first century, not just a luxury for the few, but guiding principles for all

II

Anekāntavāda in Jainism and Contemporary Context

Mahāvīra, Anekāntavāda and the World Today

SAMANI CHARITRAPRAGYA

The canonical literature (Agama) of the Jains is the primary source for the teachings and philosophy of Mahavira following his attainment of kevalajāana (infinite knowledge). One of the forms in which Mahavira's teachings and philosophical insights are presented in the Agama is his response to the questions frequently posed to him by his disciples, mendicants and householders. A series of such questions and responses appearing in the Bhagavati Satra later on became the basis for the evolution of what has come to be known as anekantavada (the Jain doctrine of many-sided reality). Take, for instance, Mahavira's responses to the following questions posed by Indrabhuti Gautama, one of the twelve Ganadharas and the principal disciple of Mahavira, Jayanti, a devoted.

¹ The word "Anekanta" was not used by Mahavira and does not appear in the Agamas Siddhasena Divakara may have been the first Jain acarya to use this word See Acarya Mahaprajña, Anekanta Reflections and Clarifications (Ladnun Jain Vishva Bharti Institute, 2001), p 9

inquisitive śrāvikā and sister of King Satānīka, and Somila, a dedicated and learned srāvakā

Gautama Is the soul permanent or impermanent?

Mahavira: The soul is permanent as well as impermanent it is permanent with respect to its substance (*dravya*), which is eternal. It is impermanent with respect to its modes (*paryaya*) or forms which originate and vanish ²

Jayanti: Of the states of slumber and awakening, which is desirable or better?

Mahavira: For some souls the state of slumber is better, for others the state of awakening. Slumber is better for those who are constantly engaged in sinful activities, and awakening or consciousness for those who are engaged in meritorious deeds ³

Somila: Are you one or many?

Mahavira I am one, two as well as many I am one in respect of substance However in respect of knowledge and intuition, I am two I am many in respect of ever-changing states of consciousness 4

Several thousand questions were asked of Mahāvīra Questions pertained not only to the nature of soul (170a), but also to the nature of matter (a110a) Take for instance the following

² Bhagavati Sutra (Ladnun Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, 1994) 7/58, 59

³ Bhagavati Satra, op cit, 12/53, 54

⁴ Bhagavatī Sūtra, op cit, 14/4/3

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Gautama: Is the nature of matter eternal or changing?

Mahavira It is eternal as well as changing From the perspective of substance, it is unchanging and eternal From the perspective of its attributes and modes it is constantly changing as manifested by the different colors, smells, tastes, etc ⁵

Gautama: Does being change into being? Does non-being change into non-being?

Mahavira Exactly so

Gautama Does such a change occur owing to some effort or spontaneously?

Mahavira: It is effected by effort and also occurs spontaneously 6

What do we learn from the above conversations, especially from Mahāvīra's responses to the various questions? Mahāvīra's responses suggest the complex and multiple aspects of reality A definitive or a simple response of choosing the "either" "or" would not have allowed him to explain the complex nature of reality with many sides to its existence. As an omniscient being, with infinite knowledge at his disposal, Mahāvīra recognized that truth or reality can be experienced but cannot be expressed in its entirety through the medium of language Moreover, it is important to note that Mahāvīra did not

⁵ Bhagavatī Satra, op cit, 19/219, 220

⁶Bhagavati Satra, op cit, quoted from Ācarya Mahaprajña, Anekanta Views and Issues (Ladnun Jain Vishva Bharti Institute, 2001), p 21

propound the truth Rather, he was interpreting it through his infinite knowledge and omniscience. Even the omniscient is constraint to express in words the reality in its myriad dimensions due to the limits of language Elsewhere Mahavira underscored this fact, "Where there is truth, from there language returns, neither intellect, nor thoughts nor even the mind goes there "7 For example, we can experience the sweetness of sugar, but we cannot totally express the sweetness through language

While operating within the limits of language and seeing the complex nature of reality with its multiple aspects, Mahavira used the language of naya (partial expression of truth) enables us to comprehend the reality part by part. There are two kinds of naya - niscaya naya and vyavahara naya niscaya naya enables us to understand the reality from the viewpoint substance without denying the existence of modes vyavahara naya allows us to comprehend the reality from the perspective of its attributes and modes but doesn't deny the existence of substance Take for instance a gold From the perspective of niścaya naya, it is matter in the form of gold From the perspective of vyavaliara naya, it is a necklace Both statements are true because relative to the necklace, gold is the substance and necklace is its mode However, from the perspective of substance the gold necklace is matter and gold is its mode. Therefore, to have an overall view of reality it is essential

⁷savve sara niyatianti! takka jatha na vijjayi! mayi tattha na gahiya! Ayaro Satra (Ladnun Jain Vishva Bharti Institute, 1981) 5/123-125

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to understand the co-existence of both the nayas In other words, to recognize the many facets of reality we must consider it both in terms of the eternal and unchanging substance and in terms of modes which are infinite, transient and changing. Thus, reality is both permanent and changing

The millennium following Mahāvīra was known as of canonical texts and literature followed by a period of philosophical writings during which the Jain acarvas felt a serious need to construct new terminology for explaining the significance of the nayas to contemporary world In large part such an initiative was inspired by the necessities of the time, which was characterized by the ongoing philosophical and logical debates about the nature of reality often giving rise to competition and engendering conflicts among debaters In such an environment, major Indic traditions attempted to explain the efficacy and validity of their own points of views about the nature of reality For example, Vedantins accepted that Brahman is absolutely unchangeable and eternal whereas maya is unreal and changing According to Buddhists, whatever is real is momentary, just as the cloud Nothing is permanent So according to the Vedantins, the Buddhists were wrong, and vice versa

During the first century of the Common Era, Acarya Umasvatī (also known as Umasvamī) undertook the task of defining reality in the Tattvartha Satra (That Which Is) on the basis of Mahavīra's teachings. He articulated three levels for the understanding of reality permanence,

origination, and cessation⁸ Advancing on this idea further, Acarya Siddhasena Divakara came up with the new terminology, anekanta, to help reconcile the apparently opposing perspectives on the nature of truth connected this with and reality He Mahavira's conversations with his disciples in the Bhagavati Satra His major works on the explanation of anekanta and naya, which continue to inspire Jaina practitioners and scholars today, are Sanmati Tarka and Nyayavatara In these magnificent treatises, he provides a critical assessment of several systems of thought with references to different navas He observed, "I bow to Anekantavada because without this we cannot understand the reality "9

The term anekanta consists of two words "aneka" (more than one) and "anta" (qualities, attribute or ends) When we say that an object has infinite attributes, we are actually saying that an object is capable of undergoing signifies modifications Anekanta interdependence of substance and modes 10 lt is not possible to have the existence of only substance or only mode Reality is made up of both substance and mode, permanence and change Therefore, every mode is as much a part of reality as substance is Thus substance and modes cannot be separated from one another. In fact, the two cannot exist without one another 11 Modes and qualities reside in substance and we recognize the

^{*&}quot;utpada-vyaya-dhrauvyayuktam sat" See Tattvartha Satra 5/29 (Gujarat Sri Jain Sahitya Samiti, 1977)

⁹ Sanmati Tarka, 3/69 (Bhartiya Gyan Peeth, 1971)

¹⁰ Sanmatı Tarka, 1/14, op cit

¹¹ Sanmatı Tarka, 1/12, op cit

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substance because of its qualities and modes Anekantavada allows us to overcome the apparent internal contradictions between eternal and non-eternal, substance and mode and helps us recognize their dependence on one another for existence Acarya Umasvami, Siddhasena Divakara, Samantabhadra and Akalanka were some of the pioneers in the application of the nayas to the different philosophical problems of their time Subsequently, this process was carried further by many acaryas, including Vidyanandin, Haribhadra, Manikyanandin, Vadideva Suri and Hemacandra

The application of anekantavada to our day-to-day life can allow us to reconcile the multiple views of reality At any given point of time, it is not possible to explain or express the infinite attributes and modes that an existent (sat) has Following Mahavira, the Jain 'acarvas used the language of "syat" The word "syat" is not an expression of doubt or skepticism Rather, it stands for multiplicity or multiple possibilities 12 It allows us to logically express or determine the nature of modes from different perspectives That is why the term syadvada includes the manifestation the substance and modes in conditional dialectic form The format of conditional dialectic is threedimensional existence, non-existence, and inexpressibility For example, X is X from the perspective of its own existence X is not Y from the perspective of Y's existence X's existence shows X's non-existence. Now if we have to talk about X's existence and non-existence simultaneously, then we have to use the expression "inexpressible" It

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¹² See Akalanka, *Tattvartharajavartika*, 4/42 (Bhartiya Gyan Peeth, 1999)

shows that existence and non-existence are both real but it is not possible to express them together. Ācārya Akalanka held that an affirmation of one's own nature and the denial of alien nature are very essential to recognize and understand every individual's existence Such an approach helps us to recognize the other individual from the point of his or her nature This perspective is central to anekanta which enables us to understand reality in a deeper sensethe same person has his/her own existence and nonexistence on behalf of his/her multitude qualities For instance, a person who is a good teacher is also a good piano player When he is teaching the class he is a teacher not a musician but when he plays his piano he is a musician but not a teacher A person has many qualities but it is not possible to identify and express qualities at the same time. At any given time, one specific quality becomes primary and rest are considered secondary Therefore, existence (being) and non-existence (not being) are often comprehended in terms of their varying and changing qualities

According to the Jaina philosophy no new substance will originate and no substance will terminate completely. In the beginningless and endless time, there are infinite substances undergoing infinite modes. Substances go through constant change. What we see with the naked eye are multi-facets of modes that a substance undergoes. Therefore, reality cannot be expressed in just one way (ekanta) there are multiple aspects to it. The application of the philosophy of anekanta enables us to understand the various dimensions of truth, to reconcile sometimes seemingly contradictory views, and facilitates an attitude of respect for other peoples' points of view.

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Today we live in a world which is highly diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, culture and language peoples' approaches to understanding reality are very varied The approach aided by anekanta allows us to be more understanding and tolerant of other peoples' views Understanding, however, does not always mean agreeing or compromising with one's own values and beliefs Therefore, an anekāntika (a person who recognizes multiple aspects of reality) is by nature more tolerant than ekantika (a person who understands reality from only one perspective and sees things in an absolutist way) individual and is able to maintain his or her values. Imagine the impact of the philosophy of anekanta on the world we live in today If all people begin to show tolerance for other people's views (even if they do not agree with them), the possibility of conflicts will reduce, tensions will not occur, and wars may be avoided

The very recognition of and respect for others will help us envision and create a nonviolent world order. To conclude with the view of Ācarya Mahāprajña, anekanta is not only a philosophy but also a manual for good life. Such an approach to reality encourages us to keep our minds open, and discourages us from adopting an absolutist thinking. This in turn helps us in overcoming the egotistic thoughts which usually originate in an environment where one considers one's view superior to those of others. An approach imbued with anekantavada spawns tolerance. Thus, in this sense, anekanta is also an essential precondition of ahimsā. The application of the

¹³ Ācarya Mahaprajña, Anekanta The Third Eye (Ladnun Jain Vishva Bharti Institute, 2001)

philosophy of anekanta to the larger world will help us advance toward a peaceful, harmonious, and nonviolent world order Such attitude will certainly decrease enmity towards others and promote increasing degree of amity among human beings

Why is Anekantavada Important?

JOHN M KOLLER

As the events of September 11, 2001 so tragically attest, we live at a time in global history when violence threatens to destroy all life on our planet If we are to prevent violence from destroying ourselves and our whole world, it is imperative that we seek nonviolent solutions to our problems From a Jain perspective, the threat to life that we face arises from a faulty epistemology and metaphysics as much as from faulty ethics. The moral failure to respect the life of others, including life forms other than human, is rooted in dogmatic but mistaken knowledge claims that fail to recognize other legitimate perspectives Such onesided perspectives result in destructive actions and violent behaviors Because existence itself is complex, subtle and many-sided, unless the knowledge on which our actions are based reflects this many-sidedness of reality it will produce actions that are destructive of existence. As Umasvāti noted, "A person with a deluded worldview is like an insane person who follows arbitrary whims and cannot distinguish true from false "1

¹Umasvatı, Tattvartha Satra, 1 33 See Nathmal Tatia (ed & trans.), That Which Is (New York, Harper Collins, 1994), p 23

The most important underlying philosophical question about preventing violence, according to Jainism, is. How are we to avoid the destructive violence that results from courses of action based on one-sided ideological dogmatism? The ideological dogmatism underlying violence is grounded in knowledge claims that, though limited and only partially true, are mistaken for absolute truth. Therefore, to avoid violence, one key step is to find an alternative theory of knowledge, an epistemology, that can support dialogue and negotiation among people of diverse perspectives and claims. Such an epistemology, that includes the truths of multiple perspectives, is made possible by the Jain philosophy of anekantavada (non-absolutism).

Recognizing that everything can be known from variety of perspectives leads naturally to a more balanced and less dogmatic understanding of reality. This understanding encompasses the insight that other beings are not "other" to themselves, that they are themselves just as much as we are ourselves. It is this insight that enables us to see the "other" on its own terms, from its own side, rather than as merely the "other," that is opposed to us. And this ability to see the other person as no longer the "other," but as identical to our own self, underlies the capacity for empathy and sympathy with the

² For a fuller discussion of ecological applications of Jain metaphysical and epistemological view, see John M Koller, "Jain Ecological Perspectives," in Christopher Key Chapple (ed.), Jainism and Fcology Nonviolence in the Web of Life, (Cambridge, MA Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 19-34

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other that operationalizes ahimsa Because one-sided, fanatical views, especially when joined to political ideologies, lead to terrible violence, commitment to ahimsa requires epistemological respect for all points of view. This respect, based on the anekantika nature of reality itself, allows dialogue and reconciliation in the quest for truth, a quest that makes it possible for holders of false views to see for themselves the falsity of their views. Perhaps, this is why Umasvati introduces his classic work explaining Jain philosophy with the words. "The enlightened world-view, enlightened knowledge, and enlightened conduct are the path to liberation."

Because enlightened conduct is the way of nonviolence or ahimsā and because the latter is implied by anekāntavāda, it is important to first discuss briefly the principle of ahimsā. The term ahimsā is negative, but the principle is entirely positive. Ahimsā embodies the realization that all life belongs to the same global family and that to hurt others is to destroy the community of life, the basis of all sacredness. Thus, ahimsā requires not only that we avoid hurting other living beings, but that we must endeavor to help each other. Indeed, Umāsvāti defines the purpose of life-forms as helping each other. Souls exist to provide service to each other.

³ Umasvatı, Tattvartha Satra, 11, op cit, p 5

^{- 4} Iohn M Koller, AsianPhilosophies (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey PrenticeHall, 2002), pp 39-40 For detailed discussion of the Jain view of life see John M Koller, The Indian Way (New York Macmillan, 1982), pp 108-132

^{- 5} Umasvati, Tattvartha Satra, 5 21 op cit., p 131

Jainism embraces a very strict and far-reaching concept of ahimsa Unlike others who claim that unless a person intended the violence which follows an act the person is not guilty of performing a violent act, the Jains claim that if an act produces violence, then that person is guilty of committing a violent act even if the violence was not intended For example, if a monk unknowingly offers poisoned food to his brethren and they die from the poisoned food, in the Jain view the monk would be guilty of performing a violent act, but in the Buddhist view the monk would not be guilty. The crucial difference between the two views is that the Buddhist view excuses the act. categorizing it as non-intentional because the monk did not know that the food was poisoned, whereas the Jain view regards the act as intentional because the monk is responsible for his ignorance, and, therefore, for any act that follows from this ignorance Thus, according to Jainism the moral imperative to practice ahimsa includes the requirement to remove the ignorance that prevents a person from seeing the violence embodied in his or her actions

From a metaphysical perspective, Jainism can be viewed as transforming the principle of *ahimsa* embodied in the respect for the life of others, into epistemological respect for the views of others, thereby establishing a basis for reconciling conflicting ideological claims. To see what "epistemological respect for the views of others" means we must first understand that *anekantavada* is essentially an ontological principle. It was developed to maintain the Jain view that substance-liva(soul) and Aliva(matter)-are both

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eternal and changing 6 As a principle of non-dogmatism, anekantavada rejects both the view that existence is only inherently enduring, and the view that it is only constantly changing, because each of these views is ekantika or one-sided, and, therefore, only partially true However, anekantavada respects the partial truth in each view, and recognizes that when seen as partial truths, these views can be combined so that the point of view from which each is true is preserved

- "Epistemological respect for the views of others," however, is not relativism ⁷ It does not mean conceding that all arguments and all views are equal. It means that logic and evidence determine which views are true in what respect and to what extent. It does not mean that Jain thinkers who were committed to the truth of the Jain view could not, as scholars, be committed to explaining and defending their view by means of argument. In fact, it allows Jain thinkers to maintain the correctness of their own view, to recognize the inferiority of other views, and to criticize both their own views and other views in terms of their weaknesses, but to do so respectfully, recognizing their partial correctness. This is a middle way between

⁶ This can be shown, at least in part, by tracing the development of anekantavada out of the earlier method of analysis and resolution called vibhajyavada, as I have done in a paper entitled "Avyakata and Vibhajya in Early Buddhism and Jainism," forthcoming in the Lund University Conference Volume on "Early Buddhism and Jainism"

⁷ Jayendra Soni, "Philosophical Significance of the Jaina Theory of Manifoldness," in *Studien Zur Interkulturellen Philosophie*, Vol 7, p 285

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absolutism and relativism, allowing Jain thinkers, in the words of Christopher Chapple, to maintain an "outlook toward the ideas of others [that] combines tolerance with a certainty in and commitment to Jaina cosmological and ethical views" For example, Haribhadra showed "remarkable willingness to evaluate rival intellectual systems on the basis of their logical coherence alone"

How is epistemological respect for the views of other established in Jainism? Most fundamentally it is through the use of the epistemological theory of view points (nayavada) and the sevenfold scheme (saptabliangi) of qualified predication (syadvada). Nayavada recognizes that ordinary, non-omniscient, knowledge claims are always limited by the particular standpoint on which they are based. Consequently, claims from one perspective must always be balanced and complemented by claims from other perspectives. Syadvada recognizes that all knowledge claims need to be qualified in various ways because of the many-sidedness of reality and the limitations of any given standpoint of knowledge.

Let us first turn to the following questions What are the nayas? How do they contribute to the reconciliation of opposing viewpoints in the search for truth? The nayas or standpoints may be thought of as different points of view taken by someone searching for the truth According to Akalanka, in the Sanmati Tarka, the standpoints are the presuppositions of inquirers, embodying the points of

⁸ Christopher Key Chapple, Nonviolence to Animals, Earth, and Self in Asian Traditions (New York State University of New York Press, 1993), p 85

⁹ Paul Dundas, The Jams (London Routledge, 1992), p 196

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view from which they are investigating the thing in question 10 In ordinary cognition, as opposed to the stage of omniscient cognition, the knower necessarily sees the thing from a particular point of view Consequently, the nature of the thing that is revealed to him is necessarily conditioned and limited by this particular point of view. enabling him to have only partial, incomplete knowledge of it As Siddhasena says "Since a thing has manifold character, it is [fully] comprehended [only] by the omniscient But a thing becomes the subject matter of a when it is conceived from one particular standpoint "11 Thus, the nayas serve to categorize the different points of view from which reality might be investigated Nayavada also encourages investigators to assume other perspectives, including the important perspective of the other as a persisting, but constantly changing, entity entitled to the same respect for life and happiness as oneself For example, when one assumes the perspectives of other life-forms, such as animals or plants, it is possible to see and feel their connectedness to us and to feel their suffering when they are injured Knowing how much like us they are and knowing that they are as dependent on their environment as we are, we have incentive not to injure them and to not destroy them or their environment

¹⁰ Akalanka, *Sanmati Tarka*, 3 47 Edited by S Sanhhavi and B Doshi Ahmedabad Gujarat Paratattva Mandira Granthavali, 1924-31

¹¹ Siddhasena, Nyayavatara, 29 Edited by A.N. Upadhye Bombay Jaina Sahitya Vikas Mandal, 1971

While theoretically there are unlimited number of standpoints from which something may be investigated, two opposing standpoints are regarded fundamental From one standpoint, things can be viewed in terms of their substantial being, emphasizing their self-identity, permanence and essential nature. This standpoint regards sameness as fundamental. As an extreme view, it is exemplified by the Advaita teaching that Brahman alone is truly real. From another standpoint, things can be viewed in terms of process, emphasizing the changes that they undergo. This standpoint emphasizes difference. In its extreme form it is exemplified by the Buddhist teaching of interdependent co-arising (pratityasamutpada) as the nature of existence, a teaching that insists that everything is selfless (anātman) and impermanent (anitya)

When the differences within each of the two fundamental standpoints of sameness and difference are taken into account we get the standard set of seven standpoints, namely the ordinary, or undifferentiated, the general, the practical, the clearly manifest, the verbal, the subtle, and the "thus-happened" The first three, the undifferentiated, the general, and the practical, are standpoints from which to investigate the thing itself, as a substance, whereas the remaining four are standpoints from which to investigate the modifications that things undergo ¹²

¹² For a detailed discussion of the seven nayas, see John M Koller, "Syadvada as the Epistemological Key to the Jaina Middle Way Metaphysics of Anekantavada," in Philosophy East and West (Volume 50, Number 3, July 2000) 400-407, pp 401-403

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Thus, we see that each naya or standpoint allows the investigator only a partial and, therefore, limited view of the object in question. The principal value of recognizing that a naya affords only a partial view of the object is that it enables one to distinguish between the limited view that results from a naya and the genuine knowledge that a valid means of knowledge, a pramaṇa, provides. This distinction, in turn, makes it possible to recognize when knowledge claims are excessive or one-sided (ekantika) because they confuse a naya with a pramana. As one perceives the object from a combination of standpoints one comes closer to seeing the object as it really is. But only by seeing it from all standpoints would one actually attain the kind of valid cognition that pramanas alone can provide.

Let us now turn to the question, What is meant by Suadvada? Suadvada is so named because it embodies a theory about how the logical operator "syat" is used in all the seven varieties of a particular predication To understand the philosophical use of suat we must distinguish between its ordinary use and its logical function in Jain epistemology. In ordinary Sanskrit, "syat" is often used to mean "maybe," as an alternative lying between "yes" and "no," both of which are rejected as an appropriate answer to a question Thus, in its ordinary usage, "syat" transforms a categorical statement into a conditional statement But the Jains used this particle in a very special epistemological sense to indicate the manysided nature of a proposition. The uniqueness of the Jain approach to an epistemological middle way lies in its use of the "syat" particle in predication Indeed, this uniqueness is why the seven-fold predication is called

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syadvada Its epistemological use transforms an unqualified categorical statement not into a conditional statement, but into a qualified categorical statement Thus, "syat" encapsulates the appropriate conditions that qualify a given statement, enabling the categorical statement thus qualified to have a truth value determined in accord with its correspondence with what is actually the case

Since becoming is the negation, the "is-not" of being, and since being is the negation, the "is-not" of becoming, Jain logic insisted on the middle ground between the extremes of "is" and "is not" in order to predicate both being and becoming of the same existent Maintaining this middle ground led to the Jain development of syadvada, a theory of predication that recognizes not only the predicates "is," and "is not," but also the predicate "inexpressible," a predicate that combines "is" and "is not."

Combining the theory of standpoints or nayas with the above three predicates leads to the famous seven-fold template for expressing important claims. These seven forms of predication as qualified by the expression "syat" are also referred to as the saptabhangi, explicitly identifying syadvada with the seven-fold formula of qualified predication. Although Umasvati and other early thinkers do not refer to this point, the later Jain philosophers agreed that all important philosophical statements should be expressed in this seven-fold way in order to remove the danger of dogmatism (ekantavada) in philosophy

Of the seven-fold predication, we see that the four basic forms of predication are those of affirmation, denial, joint but successive affirmation and denial, and joint and simultaneous affirmation and denial. The third form of

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predication allows statements about things that change, for before something arises it does not exist, but after it has arisen it does exist, and after it has decayed it will again not exist. But this third form is not really a unique form of predication, for it merely first predicates "is," and then, later, predicates "is not," thus simply successively affirming and denying the same predicate. The fourth form of predication is called "inexpressible," because there is no way that language can adequately express simultaneous affirmation and negation. But because the fourth form is neither affirmation nor denial it constitutes a distinctly third kind of predicate, different from either affirmation or denial.

From these three primary predicates, affirmation, denial and inexpressible, the seven-fold formula of predication is easily reached by using each of these three predicate units either by itself, or in combination with one of the others, or in combination with both of the others ¹³ Taking the example of a pot the seven kinds of predication may be applied as follows

- 1 Seen under certain conditions, the pot exists
- 2 Seen under certain conditions, the pot does not exist
- 3 Seen under certain conditions, the pot exists but seen under certain (other) conditions, the pot does not exist
- 4 Seen under certain conditions, the pot is inexpressible

¹³ For a detailed discussion of the seven-fold predication, see Koller, "Syadvada as the Epistemological Key to the Jaina Middle Way," op cit, pp 403-406

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- 5 Seen under certain conditions, the pot both exists and is inexpressible
- 6 Seen under certain conditions, the pot both does not exist and is inexpressible
- 7 Seen under certain conditions, the pot exists, does not exist, and is also inexpressible

As we have noted, the first two kinds of predication in the above formula, affirmation and denial, are unproblematic conditions of being able to describe things in ways that differentiate between them. The third kind, successive affirmation and denial, enables us to explain change in the sense of attributing contrary predicates, such as arising and decay to the same thing but at successive times.

The fourth kind of predication, the inexpressible, is both more problematic, and from the Jain perspective, more important It is intended to reconcile what might appear to be exclusive, or contradictory, opposites, but which are, from the Jain perspective, merely partial, onesided statements that from a higher perspective are actually complementary For example, the Advaitins deny the reality of change, giving it merely the status of maya, while affirming only the reality of the unchanging brahman/ātman On the other hand, the Buddhists deny the reality of the unchanging, declaring the unreality of atman (anatman) and affirm only the changing as real From the Jain perspective, if there were no unchanging substance to undergo the modifications that involve arising, endurance, and decay, there could be no change But since we experience change it cannot be denied that substances actually undergo change Thus, in some way, both the Buddhists and the Advaitins must be right Within the Advaitin's conceptual scheme, however, the Buddhists

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cannot be right because their contradictory claims are excluded by the claimed truth of the unchanging as the real Similarly, from within the Buddhist conceptual scheme, the Advaitins cannot be right for their contradictory claims are excluded by the claimed truth of the changing as the real Indeed, if taken at the same level and from the same perspective, even the Jains would see the Advaitin and Buddhist claims as contradictory and mutually exclusive However, from the perspective of a higher, inclusive, level made possible by the ontology and epistemology of anekāntavāda and syādvāda, their claims can be seen as ekāntika, or partially true, and therefore not mutually exclusive contradictory claims

In conclusion, Nayavada supports the metaphysical doctrine of anekāntavāda as a way of thinking about existence as simultaneously both being and becoming It demonstrates how opposing views are one-sided and limited because they are based on only one, or a limited number of, standpoints. In this way the use of nayas helps us in avoiding the one-sided errors of identifying existence with either the permanence and sameness of being on the one hand, or with the ever-changing process of becoming on the other. Syadvada grounds and supports anekantavada in the sense that it explains how a statement about something that is permanent, remaining identical with itself over time, and that is simultaneously impermanent, becoming something else, can be true. Syadvada is essentially a theory of predication

Thus, relying on the principles of nayavada and syadvada, anekantavada has the great potential to eliminate violent argument between ideological opponents by methodically both disarming and persuading them. Here

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we see the importance of anekantavada in fostering a sense of nonviolence or attempting to reduce violence. It is neither a thesis about skepticism or uncertainty nor a formulation of probability, but a thesis about non-exclusive predication based on the recognition that a given thing includes a potentially unlimited number of characteristics. It is, thus, a method of reconciling opposites, and making it attractive for persons holding opposing views to enter into dialogue and negotiate their differences, thus avoiding violent confrontation.

Anekanta, Ahimsa and the Question of Pluralism

ANNE VALLELY

Jamism embraces the philosophy of anekanta as staunchly as it espouses the righteousness of ahimsa. Anekanta and ahimsa are customarily discussed in terms of how each presupposes the other. The acceptance of the partiality of knowledge is an expression of nonviolence, and a commitment to nonviolence necessitates a pluralistic outlook. The two are seen essentially as different aspects of the same ethical orientation. But can we treat alimsa as a normative ethical ideal, and accept as morally just the view (and practice) of others who repudiate it? It has been argued that a truly pluralist approach is a logical impossibility—that some criteria of truth are essential to all worldviews. Pluralism, therefore, becomes either a form

¹ Jainism shares with India's other religious traditions a commitment to pluralism. Harold Coward writes, "India is probably the world's oldest and most interesting 'living laboratory' of religious pluralism." See H.G. Coward (ed.), Modern Indian Responses to Religious Pluralism (Albany Sate University of New York Press, 1987), p. xi

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of moral relativism, or another form of religious exclusivism² In this paper, I suggest the possibility that anekanta is a way out of this epistemological quagmire, and that a genuine pluralist view is possible without lapsing into extreme moral relativism or exclusivity

An Experiment with Jain Pluralism

As I entered the western gates of the Jain Vishva Bharati Institute (IVBI), the spiritual base of the Terapanthi lains in India, there was a large signpost indicating the rules of conduct that must be observed while in the JVBI Although these rules include matters of decorum (e.g., proper attire, no smoking), they are essentially guidelines for alumsa For instance, the consumption of meat and alcohol are strictly forbidden. These are not timid recommendations, they are unapologetic and uncompromising edicts rooted in a bold moral charter that upholds nonviolence as the highest ideal. And yet, despite this unambiguous ethical stance, I was immediately struck by the recognition given to other paths placards with words of wisdom from other, non-Jain traditions are prominently displayed throughout the IVBI For instance, next to the guest house where I staved was a placard with a saving attributed to Jesus, emphasising the importance of humility in the context of charity. It read. "The left hand should not know what the right hand has given "

Can one be a strong defender of one's own beliefs and also accept as true other-ways-of-being, especially those that may be diametrically opposed? Critics of

² Gavin D' Costa, "The Impossibility of a Pluralist View of Religions," Religious Studies, 32 (June 1996) 223-232, pp 225-26

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pluralism argue that such a thing is a logical impossibility, that to be consistently relativistic about knowledge claims would require one to be a relativist about one's relativism, which rapidly leads to an epistemological dead end. Thus, critics assert, whether or not we want to accept it, we are all essentially exclusivists, we cannot help but judge others by some criteria arising from our own worldview.³

The Jain doctrine of anekanta may, however, offer an alternative It grants that epistemological neutrality is an impossibility for ordinary humans, but the doctrine does not require it Anekanta does not predicate its pluralism on epistemological neutrality Instead, it asserts that the holding of even an uncompromising position on truth (as Mahavira did with respect to nonviolence) can coexist with a celebration of conceptual, philosophical and moral diversity

The Raising of Lazarus: The Fall of Anekanta?

Soon after I arrived at the JVBI, for what would be a year's sojourn, Ganādhipati Gurudeva Tulsi (the ninth ācārya of the Terāpanthī order) assigned me the job of "Teacher of Christianity" for the samanīs (nuns-intraining) He explained that the samanīs pursue studies in other branches of Indian philosophy at the JVBI, but that they know little of non-Indian faiths He considered it important that they take this opportunity to learn And so began our experiment with anekantavāda A small group of samanīs and I began to meet thrice a week for our lesson

³ See G D'Costa, The Impossibility of a Pluralist View of Religions," op cit, and Nicholas Rescher, Rationality (London Oxford University Press, 1988)

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The first few weeks went smoothly I talked about those things I knew best, focusing on Jewish and Christian history The samanis were excellent students, eager to learn and curious about events with which they had little familiarity I enjoyed our inter-religious dialogues and putting into practice the principles and pleasures of anekanta

But soon the *samanis* grew weary of the focus on historical detail. Familiar with the narrative form of religious learning, they wanted to hear moral stories about the life and teachings of Jesus. It was here that I eventually came up against, what seemed at the time, intransigent hurdles to a pluralistic approach.

My repertoire of the New Testament stories was sketchy. However, I selected those stories that I thought best resonated with the Jain vision of things. I told them about how Jesus helped the poor, the destitute, the outcasts. I recounted the time when he chided his community for condemning a prostitute, declaring that "only he who has not sinned should cast the first stone." I interpreted this narrative as a lesson in human frailty and humility, as a message about seeing all human beings as equal in the eyes of God. The samanis liked the story, and recounted parallel incidents of courage in the life of their leader. They explained that when he, too, challenged many social conventions, he likewise encountered resistance because of his radically egalitarian beliefs.

I continued with the story of Jesus' forty-day fast in the desert. This was a fortuitous choice. Even before I could suggest an interpretation, the samanis had formulated their own "Tapas" (austerities), they said assuredly. While it was not quite the way a priest would

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explain it to his congregation, Jesus could also be considered an ascetic in that he had few possessions and was celibate. I felt a sense of accomplishment. My 'students' were learning stories of another tradition that were meaningful to them

My success, however, was short-lived The samanis had heard bits and pieces of other stories and wanted to know their religious significance. In particular, two stories puzzled them. Of what religious significance were the stories of turning water into wine, and of raising a man from the dead? I considered these to be good questions. But other than the most obvious point of telling them that Jesus was special, that he was able to perform miracles, did the stories have spiritual significance?

"Well, let's start with the story of Lazarus," I said, "Lazarus was a beloved friend of Jesus who fell ill once when Jesus was away from his village. A message was sent for Jesus to return, but he received it too late. By the time he returned to the village, Lazarus had been dead for four days. Everyone in the village was distraught. Jesus went to the cave where Lazarus was buried, and called upon him to come out. To everyone's astonishment, he emerged! Jesus had raised him from the dead."

"But why? Why did Jesus bring him back to life?" a samani asked "Jesus wanted to help the family that was suffering "I answered

"But everyone loses someone to death, why help this family," the samant duly persisted. I had no profound answer for the samants, but maintained my teacherly stance "I believe he tried to help whoever was in need. This was a

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very tragic situation, and because he was able to help, he did "

"But we all must die This man, Lazarus, too must die, yes? So why help in a physical way? Why not help his soul? Or help his family to understand death?"

I had no answer This had always struck me as an odd miracle, and I could not expound on its theological import

"And the wine story?" another samani asked, hoping I might better explain this one

"Just as in the story of Lazarus, the most significant thing about the story is that it reveals Jesus to be unlike other men," I waffled, "He was able to perform miracles The fact that he could do these miraculous things is evidence, for Christians, of his divine status."

"But if he was god, why would he do that miracle? Why not something more important?" one of the samanis asked

"And why just for one wedding party?" asked another

I knew immediately that I was on less than solid ground when I tried to explain that alcohol was not prohibited, irreligious or himsā from within the Judaeo-Christian tradition. In fact, wine plays a significant role on special occasions in both Jewish and Christian celebrations. Then, when I added my own Epicurean interpretation of the significance of a blissful life, I had all but lost my audience. From a Jain point of view, the miraculously supplying of intoxicating beverages for a wedding party hardly seemed a pious narrative worthy of passing down

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from one generation to another for nearly two thousand years. In fact, the more we talked about it, the more ridiculous it appeared, and eventually we succumbed to a fit of laughter.

Rather than being an instrument for the glorification of anekantavada, I felt I was helping to undermine it Rather than convincing the samanis that Christianity had a corner on truth (just like Jainism), I felt I was setting it up as an example of mithyadarsana, a deluded view of reality I sat back, half bemused, and half frustrated with my inability to evoke some appreciation of the teachings of Christianity It was not as though I expected the samanis to be rapturous over the Biblical stories, but I knew I was not doing the tradition justice These stories meant so much to so many people, why was I so poor an emissary? I regrouped my thoughts and took a third stab at it

"If you think about it," I began, "these are really stories about compassion and universal friendliness (karuna and maitri) This is the Golden Rule – to treat others as you would have them treat you "I continued, "Imagine the power of his actions – that a person capable of such greatness would concern himself with our mundane needs proves his boundless compassion"

The saman's considered my words They were not greatly impressed with the explanation But it was one that at least made sense to them A form of compassion and friendship that focused on the material well-being appeared very crude and not very inspiring They reckoned, however, that perhaps this 'blunt' compassion was what was most suitable for those on the low rungs of the gunasthana (stages of spiritual progress) "Perhaps this

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was all the people could understand," one samani proposed Another agreed by adding, "Later the people could be taught that true compassion is concerned with the soul, not the body "I was uneasy with their rendition, but felt that I did not have the tools or ability to convey an alternate, more 'profound' interpretation

The Limits of Pluralism

Back in my room that evening, with time to reflect, I became doubtful about the promise of pluralism. Had not today's exchange revealed its weakness? Rather than truly engage in a suspension of criticism, and an appreciation of the "other" on its own terms, we had sought to translate Christianity into a Jain idiom ⁴. I had attempted to tailor Christianity to fit what I believed was my audience's worldview, and the samanīs accepted as significant only those aspects that did not deviate from their already held beliefs.

But could it be otherwise? Not according to Gavin D'Costa who argued that the idea of pluralism is misconceived and that, in essence, it is nothing more than a form of exclusivism. He wrote

[T]here is no such thing as pluralism because pluralists are committed to holding some form of truth criteria and by virtue of this, anything that falls foul of such criteria is excluded from

⁴ There are a number of scholars of religion, such as Cantewell Smith, Mircea Eliade, who prioritise the autonomous, interior, and generally inaccessible personal dimensions of religious experience at the expense of observable, comparative data, and who would, therefore, be suspicious of my hope to "appreciate the Other on its own terms"

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counting as truth (in doctrine and in practice) Thus, pluralism operates within the same logical structure of exclusivism and in this respect pluralism can never really affirm the genuine autonomous value of religious pluralism for, like exclusivism, it can only do so by tradition specific criteria for truth ⁵

It is interesting to note that the philosopher Nicholas Rescher and the anthropologist Richard Shweder anticipated many of D'Costa's critiques of pluralism They argued, from their respective disciplines, that our celebrations of conceptual diversity fall short of true pluralism, that although most of us pay lip service to the idea of pluralism, we refuse to accept its logical outcome The pluralist platform states the following ⁶

- 1 We the members of our group (religious or otherwise) are rationally justified in our conception of things
- 2 They, the members of some other group, have a different conception of things
- 3 They, the members of that other group, are rationally justified in their conception of things

And yet these points, inevitability, lead to a fourth and final proposition, that most people repudiate

⁵ G D' Costa, The Impossibility of a Pluralist View of Religions," op cit, p 226

⁶ This platform is paraphrased from R Shweder, *Thinking Through Cultures* (Cambridge & London Harvard University Press,1991) See also Nicholas Rescher, *Rationality*, op cit

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4 If others are rationally justified in their conception of things and that their conception is different from ours, then we cannot be rationally justified in our conception of things, and vice versa

An unwillingness to entertain this fourth proposition, however, -results in the incoherence of the entire platform. As a result of this, critics of pluralism assert that pluralists give an account of the 'other' against a backdrop of their own worldview – every bit as much as do exclusivists. If we accept that, epistemologically, pluralism is a no-man's-land, we are left – it would seem – with few options either we must 'grow up' as some critics would have, and acknowledge our inherently exclusivist ways-of-knowing (i.e., accept that we cannot avoid imposing our own standards on others) or retreat to a position of philosophical and moral subjectivism, which claims the source of truth to reside within the individual subject alone.

Contemporary society is characterised by these opposing positions—we are simultaneously plagued by intolerance and ethnocentric smugness, and weakened by radical subjectivism and moral relativism Ironically, the latter (moral relativism) is commonly seen as the progressive response to the former (ethnocentrism). In rejecting the view that all peoples should be judged by a single standard, many leap to the conclusion that standards, as such, do not exist at all However, locating the criteria for truth within the thinking subject alone denies the social basis of knowledge as much as it denies

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the possibility of a transcendent reality ⁷ The Jain doctrine of anekanta suggests another possibility

Anekāntavāda: A Way Out?

So basic is anekanta considered to be to a non-violent way-of-knowing, that it is considered an intrinsic element of the ethic of ahimsa. Mahavira is attributed as saying

Those who praise their own faiths and ideologies and blame that of their opponents and thus distort the truth will remain confined to the cycle of birth and death 8

Anekantavada asserts that no viewpoint is to be taken as the final, definitive viewpoint because reality itself (and not just our human perception of it) is many-sided. Herein lies its strength and its divergence from other pluralist positions, which tend to focus on epistemology alone. Although anekantavada does have an epistemological component – especially in its related

⁷ These questions lead us into the well-rehearsed debates over the nature and definition of "religion" Many contemporary critiques of "religion" as a reductionist, scholarly category advocate the *sui generis*, a temporal essence of religious acts, or the interiorised nature of religious experience. For an excellent review of this debate, see Russell T. McCutcheon, 'The Category of "Religion" in Recent Publications. A Critical Survey,' Numen (42, 4, 1995), 284-309.

⁸ This quote from Mahavira comes from the *Satrakrtanga*, 1 1 2 23, as quoted in J B Trapnell, "Indian Sources of a Pluralist View of Religions," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* (35 2, Spring 1998), p. 219

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principle of "syadvada" ("doctrine of maybe"), which states that truth is predicated on one's condition or context, its support of pluralism is bolstered by its metaphysical contention that reality itself is not singular

Padmanabh Jaini explains, "In its wholeness, any reality is the co-existence of contradictory elements, such as eternity and transience, or unity and multiplicity" Different ways-of-being and of knowing are understood as "nayas", that is, as logically distinct viewpoints, each coherent and true to its context, but ultimately partial

Jainism, thus, recognises that no one tradition has a monopoly on truth and that, in fact, other nayas should be explored in the search for truth. This is a different expression of pluralism than the one typically encountered (and critiqued) The standard pluralist position claims that various religious phenomena are culturally conditioned diverse responses to the Transcendent The Transcendent singular, but manifests itself (or is differently constructed) according to different cultural traditions Therefore, the aim of pluralism and relativism is to give permission to diversity and difference, to see in others diverse signs of our 'divinity' Anekantavada goes beyond this It does not merely give 'permission' to diversity, it (ideally) mandates an encounter with it. It is only through exposure to other ways of being, will a fuller picture of reality emerge

All the nayas, therefore, in their exclusively individual standpoints are absolutely faulty. If,

⁹ PS Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1979), p. 91

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however, they consider themselves as supplementary to each other, they are right in their viewpoints [I]f all the nayas arrange themselves in a proper way and supplement each other, then alone they are worthy of being termed as "the whole truth" or the right view in its entirety 10

A re-visioning of our view of reality as not "one sided" might allow us to accept the four propositions of a pluralist platform, enumerated above. Unlike eliminative or nihilistic strains of relativism that assert there is no reality beyond appearances, anekantavada accepts an existent reality. Yet accepting the existence of reality does not mean it can be understood singularly, reality is understood to be 'many sided' and thus reveals itself in manifold ways simultaneously Therefore, in opposition to both the 'equivocal pluralists' and the critics of pluralism, anekantavada does allow us to affirm the fourth proposition of the pluralist platform, namely that "If others are rationally justified in their conception of things and that conception is different from ours, we too can be rationally justified in our conception of things, and vice versa" If reality is accepted as manifold, this is no longer illogical

Anekantavada can, perhaps, help redress the epistemological muddle in which we post-moderns find ourselves. The fact that there is no singular uniform standard of truth does not mean there are no standards or

¹⁰Quoted from Siddhasena Divakara's Sanmati Tarka as cited in J B Trapnell, "Indian Sources of a Pluralist View of Religions," op cit, p 220

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no truths, because there is not a single uniform reality, does not mean that reality does not exist

Lazarus Revisited: Conclusion

Putting the doctrine of anekanta into practice is a huge challenge. And in hindsight, I believe that my stumblings in Ladnun were not so much evidence of failure, as they were evidence of this challenge. I had made the pluralists' mistake of believing openness to the other required a break from one's own beliefs – a temporary suspension in epistemological limbo. This view is futile and full of inconsistencies. But Jain pluralism does not require it and therefore the possibility for an honest and creative acceptance of diversity can exist.

The Jain saniants of Ladnun uncompromisingly maintained alumsa to be an eternal and unchangeable moral law. Other views or practices that would contradict these beliefs would certainly be challenged, and ultimately rejected. But what is significant, I believe, is that both the retention and rejection of views is tempered by the belief that our perception conveys only a partial reality, that reality itself is manifold, and that to assume that one particular point of view is final is to hold a limited picture of reality.

The doctrine of anekantavada or many-sidedness comes close to obligating its adherents to become familiar with other ways-of-knowing. My appointment in Ladnun as "Teacher of Christianity" is a testament to that. And, in so doing, it goes a long way towards accomplishing the goal at the very core of pluralism, that is, recognition of autonomy and legitimacy of the very diversity of human existence.

Anekanta in Present Day Social Life

KAMLA JAIN

The problems of our society seem to multiply daily notwithstanding scientific and technological advancement and an excellent communication system. The world is getting smaller and smaller Today, we think of the world as a 'global village' not only because of an advanced communication system, but also in the sense of inter-racial co-existence We have vast networks of rapid surface communication and information systems but we have a very disappointing interaction system at the social and emotional levels. One often wonders whether our society will be able to solve these problems even if there is more growth and development in economic and technological spheres Our society has become a curious mixture of advanced technology and backward psychology (mindare witnessing blind barbaric religious fundamentalism, a mad display of anti-secular forces, which reflect the disturbed mental state of people There appears to be no limit to the extent of fanaticism. In the name of religion the creed of intolerance is pursued and nurtured A fundamentalist group of Lashkare-Jabbar in

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Kashmir promulgates its coercive diktat for the dress code of Kashmiri Muslim women. Young women were attacked with acid bulbs for appearing in public without covering their faces. In Pakistan a teen-ager expressed his anguish and frustration by hoisting an Indian flag. The police in Islamabad arrested him and implicated him on the charge of treason, which could amount to as high a punishment as death. Deepa Mehta's film 'Water' ran into troubled water in Varanasi, and the 'Miss World' beauty contest invited violence in the city. The creed of intolerance is mushrooming to such an extent that acceptance of the views of others has become rare and the pressures of obscurantist and communalist forces are getting stronger and stronger.

In this paper, I suggest that the Jaina tradition may offer a solution to such problems. The essence of Jaina philosophy may be captured in the following three terms ahimsa, anekanta and aparigraha. Most significant of these is anekanta as it has the benefit of saniyak-darśana (right attitude) and saniyag-jñana (right knowledge) which are pre-requisites to saniyag-caritra (right conduct). Ahimsa and aparigraha both rightly come in the category of saniyag-caritra. The three-saniyag-darsana, saniyag jñana, and saniyag-caritra-together are called triratnas (three jewels), and constitute the path of liberation as stated in the opening sutra of Tattvartha Sūtra by Umāsvāti (samyag-darsana-jñana-caritrānīmoksanargah) 1. Only with right

¹ Umasvati, Tattavartha Sutra Translated with an introduction by Nathmal Tatia (San Francisco and Manchester Harper Collins, 1994) 1-1

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attitude and right knowledge are we in a position to tread the path of supreme ethical principles of ahimsa and aparigraha in our life.

Anekanta emphasizes the basic attitude of mind in the understanding of reality or truth, which has infinite number of aspects To explain such complex nature of reality, Mallisena used the phrase, anantadharmatmakam vastu"2 Reality, therefore, can be seen from different points of view. One point of view reveals one aspect and another point of view reveals another aspect. The story of six blind men getting different images of an elephant and accordingly giving their own impressions explains this well None of the pictures given is incorrect but it is not complete either Therefore the predications about these pictures are not absolute but are only relative Anekanta helps in comprehending a fuller picture, numerous aspects of reality Thus, reality is "eternal" and "non-eternal" Neither of the two alternatives is true or false absolutely An existent (sat) is real in relation to its four-fold qualities (svabhava) i e substance, place, time & nature (dravya, ksetra, kala and bhava), it is non-existent (asat) in relation to otherness (parabhava) In other words, anekanta is an attempt to overcome extreme views or onesidedness. One can say, this is the operation of 'Rashomon effect' This expression conveys the idea that all facts and events are subject to multiple interpretations. Thus, the

² Mallisena, Syadvadamamanjari

³ The term is coined after a Japanese film, Rashomon The film depicts a story of murder narrated differently by various eyewitnesses

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attitude of anekānta could work as the starting point of eliminating or, at least, reducing religious, social, political, familial conflicts, which often culminate in intolerance at all levels national and even international. In more general sense anekānta is the true spirit of ahimsā, which does not remain confined to the individual's code of conduct alone but reaches metaphysical and, more importantly, societal plane.

Anekantavada with its corollaries of nayavada and syadvada serves a complete and exhaustive philosophy of life 4 Anekantavada is the metaphysical outlook of Jainas as it posits the multi-dimensional aspect of reality. However, it is essentially a social philosophy of relevance which can make our social existence meaningful and peaceful Human existence could be truly enriching with an attitude of tolerance of others and their points of view. It would be contextually relevant to briefly touch upon the corollaries of anekantavada, that is nayavada and syadvada, which together reveal the functional dynamics of anekantavada Naya refers to a process of understanding and analyzing an object or a reality in its varied aspects and forms Jaina texts give a list of seven nayas covering the possible ways of understanding reality 5 These nayas are Naigama naya, Sangraha naya, Vyavahāra naya, Rjusūtra naya, Šabda naya, Samabhirudha naya, and lastly Evambhuta naya Naigama naya refers to ways of understanding an object in its dual sense, that is, in both its general and specific sense

⁴ Devendramuni Shastri, A Source Book of Jaina Philosophy Trans By T G Kalghatgi (Udaipur Sri Tarakguru Jain Granthalaya, 1983), pp 239-40, 256

⁵ Umasvati, Tattavartha Sutra op cit, 1-34, 35

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Sangraha naya refers to the tendency to find unity in diversity Vyavahara naya deals with particularity and focuses on diversity, it is the empirical and practical approach Rjusatra naya aims at presenting the aspect of reality from the point of view of momentary present Sabda naya emphasizes the function of word and focuses on its meaning (as different words may mean the same object) Samabhiradha nava refers to the etymological meaning of a word and emphasizes that every word has some different meaning in accordance with its roots. This naya throws light on differences amongst synonyms Evambhūta naya emphasizes on the specific situations and context in which a particular meaning is ascribed to a word (e.g. a servant is a servant only when he is serving) Thus, these nayas take note of different possibilities of analytic thought processes with reference to varied aspects and distinctions of the objects or of reality

The other significant corollary of anekanta is syadvada which takes note of these nayas or number of possibilities of thought and gives a logical and verbal expression to it in its predicational form of Saptabliangi (seven-fold predication) incorporating affirmation, negation and also inexpressibility along with their combinations 6 These are (1) syat-asti, (2) syat-nasti, (3) syat-asti-nasti, (4) syat-avyaktavyam, (5) syat-asti-avyaktavyam, (6) syat-nasti avyaktavyam, and (7) syat asti-nasti avyaktavyamam. All these predicational forms show that from a particular point of view a thing is and from another point of view it is not and from a third point of view it is inexpressible and

⁶ Muni Phoolchandji 'Sraman,' Nayavada (Agra Sanmati-gyan Peeth, 1958) pp. 37-46

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so on These predications are complementary because affirmation implies the negation of its opposite and negation implies the affirmation of its opposite Further, there is also room for inexpressibility as all these predications relate only to finite or limited ability of expressions of those who are not omniscient. Thus, in common parlance, syadvada is an expression of thought in a cultured and civilized way that does not hurt those who hold a different point of view syadvada, thus, promotes an outlook of a many-sided approach to the knowledge of reality. It is an anti-dogmatic approach respecting diverse points of view. Thus, from basic attitude to systematic thought and from thought to its logical verbal expression incorporating essential relativism, anekanta is the foundational principle of Jaina philosophy and logic

It needs to be clarified that syadvada or seven-fold judgments are not figments of imagination, they are only expressions of many-faceted reality for its fullest comprehension. It should also be noted that syadvada should not be seen as a theory of doubt or that the term 'syat' means 'maybe' or 'perhaps' which would amount to a form of skepticism. A comprehensive description of varied nature of objects is not an expression of doubt or skepticism. Rather, it underscores a number or possibilities for understanding reality.

In modern social context there cannot be a better interpretation of anekanta than secularism. It is the modern social philosophical definition of anekanta. Secularism is generally characterized by (i) decline of religious belief, (ii) separation of church and state, and, (iii) respect for all religions. It is this last meaning which is most relevant in the Indian context. A secular state protects all religions

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equally and favors none at the expense of others. The state recognizes equal rights and privileges and duties as belonging to all citizens irrespective of their religion or caste It does not mean indifference to religion nor does it mean opposition to religion. It only means that the state as such does not identify itself with any particular religion and not only tolerates but appreciates every religion Under no circumstance does it mean rejection of relevance of religion or that it eulogizes irreligion. In simplest terms it means 'equal respect for all religions'. It does not mean abandoning spirituality from the life of people or even from the affairs of the state It should only mean elimination of religion - based conflicts and confrontations that destroy the social fabric of our society and exhaustion of energies of nation. The talk of separation of religion separation should be read politics as communalism from politics True religion is a part of life which is nothing but universal values Jawaharlal Nehru once said that the use of the word 'secular' to describe Indian State was 'perhaps not a very happy one and that it was used for want of a better word' However, insofar as it conveys the meaning it is intended to convey it should be fine When we look at the modern urban society, an example of cultural pluralism, which characterizes a life style of "anonymity, mobility, pluralism, pragmatism and even profanity," to use Harvey Cox's words,7 we find that such a meaning of secularism is more relevant to a society where individual's roots become weak and fragile giving

⁷ Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York Macmillan, 1965), pp 38-42

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rise to increasing necessity for cultivating respect and tolerance among human beings operating in a rapidly changing world. A closer look would reveal that it is in essence nothing but anekanta

This exhaustive philosophy is reflected not only in philosophical deliberations or religious catechism, it is reflected in so many facets of our social life. In our judicial system in which lies the core of human dignity in society, the greatest contribution to the cause of justice is the concept of natural justice, which is based on two fundamental principles (i) No one should be his own judge for his own cause and that a judgment should be unbiased and impartial, (ii) Both sides of the case should be heard and that no one should be condemned unheard On close analysis both these principles implicitly refer to the attitude of anekanta 8 If, for example, a judge looks at the problem from one angle he would be labeled as prejudiced and biased or one holding ekantika views Further, if he gives hearing to one party and leaves the other party unheard his approach would be ekantika again Thus, anekanta is the essence of both these principles A person accused of murder could be hanged, could be given life sentence and could also be acquitted, this underlines anekantika approach

⁸ T U Mehta, "Syadvada and Judicial Process," in Multidimensional Application of Anekantavada (Varanasi P V Research Institute, 1999), p 154

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Anekanta can be 'useful in the management of business organization ⁹ A multi-dimensional approach may allow a business executive to understand the challenges of his organization from the perspectives of its various departments. Even for personal management and growth, the anekantika way of thinking can produce better results by encouraging open and objective approach

Today, medical practitioners have begun to rely on an integrated approach in medicine rather than rigidly adhering to their particular school of medicine. Allopathic practitioners have started to recommend well-tested approaches medicines which they think are less prone to side-effects. This expresses a synthesis of diverse approaches on the basis of 'complementarity' principle. This again is a reflection of anekantika attitude.

Anekantika outlook is not only good for our day-to-day life, but it also has a great intellectual appeal Post-modernism and its related theory of post-structuralism widely used in literary criticism are of very recent origin Post-modernism suggests that every field of ideas is a field of contending forces ¹⁰ Post-modernism emphasizes that no representation can capture the subject completely and that it is only a representation There appears, in this thesis a striking similarity to Buddhist view of momentariness or Rjusūtra naya, but it definitely throws light on differences

⁹Hasmukh Savlani, "Personal Management by Anekantavada," in Multi-Dimensional Application of Anekantavada, op cit, p 161

¹⁰ Lawrence E Cahoone (ed.), Anekantavada An Anthology (London Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 15

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and tolerance of differences As such, it echoes an anekantika approach

Concept similar to anekanta can be seen in other religions and philosophies of the world Take for instance the following Isavasya Upanisad describes atman as a substance which moves and does not move, which is near and far and which is inside and outside. In spite of being absolutistic, Vedanta reflects relativism in its philosophy of explaining reality from three standpoints and in three stages viz pratibliāsika, vyavaliārika and parmārtliika Mahabharata exhorts people by saying, 'Regard all religious faiths with reverence and ponder their teachings but do not surrender your judgment' Buddhist philosophy of vibliajyavada and madliyama-marga also reflects the tone of anekanta Buddha himself believed in vibliaivavada and not in ekantavada. He rejected both 'asti' and 'nasti' and emphasized that he believed in the middle path Quran suggests, 'to you your religion and to me mine' This is truly the 'live and let live' philosophy of religion

In conclusion, anekāntavāda may help us overcome the one-sided, narrow, dogmatic or fanatical approaches to life and reality, not only at metaphysical, but also at social and familial levels. As such, it can significantly reduce the intellectual chaos and social conflict in the present day life.

Beyond Anekantavada: A Jain Approach to Religious Tolerance

PAUL DUNDAS

A popular modern symbol of lainism includes a representation of the loka--the universe as envisaged in Jain teaching--and the motto "parasparopagralio jivanam" (there should be mutual support between all living creatures). An alternative image representative of the ethical ideals of Jainism might equally well be the saniavasarana, the assembly place magically created by the gods where, according to the Jain tradition, every lina, after attaining enlightenment expounds the eternal teachings nonviolence and compassion for the first time The universal applicability of the Jain doctrine is demonstrated by the fact that this sermon is listened to by a gathering of humans, animals and gods gathered in concord within an extensive circular network of corridors encompassed by jewelled balustrades which surround the dais from where the Jina preaches

Who is eligible to enter this religious amphitheatre and attend the great event? This question was raised in the Senaprasna, a collection of responses made by Vijayasena Suri, chief ascetic of Svetambara subsect, the Tapa Gaccha, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, to a variety

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of inquiries posed by lay and monastic members of his sect. Subsequently, these questions and answers were compiled by monk Subhavijaya Ganin.¹ More pertinent to the theme of this essay, however, is the following question posed to Vijayasena. Do the 363 types of heretic (pakhandika), traditionally established by the time of early medieval. Jainism, physically stand outside the samavasarana or remain within it? As a rule, replied Vijayasena, they remain outside but occasionally enter the samavasarana.²

This slightly equivocal judgement appears to indicate a possible tension within Jainism to which I intend to draw attention. The questions central to my inquiry are. What is the status of those who are not formally members of the Jain religion? Can they be in some way accommodated by the Jains? If not, are they fated to stay outside the samavasarana, noses metaphorically pressed against the soteriological window? In other words, to what extent is Jainism tolerant in its approach to other religious traditions?

Based on its philosophy of *anckantavada*, Jainism is frequently thought of having an innate sense of tolerance for other religious paths. Such a tolerance is regarded as a

¹ In this, for example, Vijayasena Suri is represented to point out that while listening to the *Jina*'s sermon, female humans and divine beings stand and the male human and divine beings sit as a token of the traditional superiority of their gender. See, Vijaysena Suri's *Senaprasna* compiled by Subhavijaya Ganin (Bombay Devachand Lalabhai Series, 1919)-80a

² lbid p 61a

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reflex of the religion's deep preoccupation with ahimsa However, concentration on anekantavada as presenting non-lain teachings as partial versions of the truth and thus constituting a type of inclusivist sectarian tolerance has tended to de-emphasize the extent to which Jainism has also consistently seen itself in exclusivist terms as the one true path Recent scholarship has confirmed that anekantavada functioned in classical times as a technique which could promote the superiority of the Jain analysis of the world over other models of reality 1 Jainism's apparent inclusivism and tolerance as supposedly resulting from anekantavada can in fact equally be interpreted as indices of its exclusivism Indeed, the ancient scriptural evidence suggests that Jainism from the very beginning saw alternative religious paths as inadequate For example, the Uttaradhyayana Sūtra 23 63 states, "The heterodox and the heretics have all chosen a wrong path, the right path is that taught by the linas, it is the most excellent path "4 Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the Jains in general never, until the ecumenical twentieth century, subscribed to the possibility of all religions being in some way equal Indeed, the classical texts generally excoriate such apparent liberalism as a specific form of false belief (mithyadrsti) called vainayika, a general, undiscriminating reverence towards objects and personages of worship in

³ Paul Dundas, *The Jains* (London Routledge, 2002), pp 229-33

⁴ Hermann Jacobi (trans), Jaina Sutras, Part II (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1895), p 126

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other sects which has been rendered by one translator as "misguided egalitarianism" 5

However, there is another strand of opinion in Jainism which can most clearly be located in the writings of Acarya Haribhadra The dating of this figure is problematic but for our purposes the writings attributed to him can be said to fall between the late 6th and the mid 8th centuries CE6 Haribhadra occasionally does not accept the possibility of any sort of approval of or accommodation with those who fail to conform to the ethical commands of the linas, even though they perform fierce austerities which, Jainism claims, are integral to genuine spiritual advancement 7. He also denies that those who are outside the command of the lings can have any sort of religious restraint in the first place 8 Elsewhere, however, Haribhadra allows for the possibility of other non-Jain sectarian leaders and teachings in conformity with Jainism 9 Furthermore, in his so-called yoga works, Haribhadra explicitly regards inner

⁵ Nathmal Tatia (trans), Umasvati's *Entivarthin Sutra*, That Which Is (San Francisco and London HarperCollins 1994), pp 189-90

⁶ See Paul Dundas, "Haribhadra on Giving," Journal of Indian Philosophy, Vol. 30, 2000, pp. 8 and 30

⁷ Haribhadra, Pañcasaka 11 39 Pannyas Sri Padmavijayaji Maharaja Ganivarva (ed.), Pañcasakaprakarana (Hastinapur Shri Nirgrantha Sahitya Prakashan Sangha, 1999)

⁸ Haribhadra, *Upadeśapada* v 810 (Bhuleshvar Shri Jinashasana Aradhana Trust, 1989)

⁹ Ibid, v 639

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calm of any sort as a guarantor of a general orientation towards that one path which leads to moksa 10

It must, however, be said that Haribhadra was no simple apologist for other faiths or tolerant irenicist. His writings appear as harbingers of the tensions which surfaced in an extended argument which preoccupied the Svetāmbara Jain community during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here, I will eschew any reference to anekāntavāda as it is not relevant to the question, whether there is any possibility of correct moral behavior on the part of those who do not follow the Jain path

Perhaps, the best way to introduce this issue is by reference to a text which was written some time in the late 13th or early 14th century when the Svetambara Jain community was fragmented into a variety of rival subsects seriously divided over issues relating to lineage, ritual and the sacred calendar. It is against this background that one Nayaprabha Ganin, a teacher of the subsect known as the Tapa Gaccha produced the Gurutattvapradipa. This work's alternative title, certainly the one by which it was known in the sixteenth century, was Utsūtrakandakuddala, literally meaning, "A Spade to Dig Up the Roots of Heresy." The title clearly conveys the purpose of the text which, in fact, was the first Tapa Gaccha text to engage in serious intra-Svetambara sectarian polemic

In this text, the objects of the author's wrath range from opponents such as the Digambaras and the templedwelling monks since the beginning of the common era, to

¹⁰ Haribhadra, Yogadrstisamuccaya v 128 in Haribhadrayogabharati (Mumbai Divyadarshan Trust, 1989)

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sects which emerged after the eleventh century and are still in existence today, such as the Kharatara Gaccha and categorising However, before Tristutikas the opponents, the author these denouncing Gurutattvapradipa considers the typical standpoint from which a Jain should approach alternative intellectual positions, namely that of being madhyastha, literally meaning, "standing in the middle" According to the historian of religion, Peter van der Veer, there is no word in any Indian language corresponding exactly to the English word "tolerance," which has its origins in the European Enlightenment and the decline of the universal authority of the Catholic Church 11 However, the term madhyastha might well be taken as indicative of the supposed basic lain virtue of intellectual irenicism and respect for other religions which modern apologists have presented as being one of Jainism's main characteristics But on further examination it appears to be slightly more nuanced than this would suggest

Although the author asserts that his work, Gurutattvapradīpa, has been written in the spirit of mādliyastliya--remaining between the two extremes of strong attachment (raga) and aversion (dvesa)--he goes on to argue that there are two types of this quality of "being in the middle," which are as different from each other as spiritual deliverance is from rebirth. The first type of madhyastha is an individual who has no attachment or

¹¹ Peter van der Veer, Religious Nationalism Hindus and Muslims in India (Berkeley University of California Press, 1994), pp 66-7

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hatred when considering issues relating to divinity, teacher or doctrine and, crucially, evinces the quality of right view or faith (samuagdrsti) Consequently, he loses all possible doubt when he realises that the statements of the lain scriptures and the direction of the path to liberation are one and the same 12 The second type of madityastla, however, cannot abandon attachment and dislike and lacks the ability to discriminate between good and bad positions on the grounds that he doubts whether in fact he is genuinely *madhyastha* Such a person consequently goes along with every idea, statement and mode of practice and his supposed neutrality or "tolerance" is rather a lack of intellectual discrimination as a result of which he cannot distinguish between substance (tattva) and non-substance (atattva) As the Gurutattvapiadipa puts it, professional connoisseurs of jewels would not adopt a position of neutrality when forming their conclusion (samanubandhah) in the case of judging both glass and a genuine precious stone 13 Following such excoriation of any sort of mealymouthed tolerance, the author of the Gurutettvapradipa embarks upon a lengthy exposure of all non-Tapa Gaccha types of Jainism as being utsūtra, heretical representations of false beliefs

Few manuscripts of the Gurutattvapradīpa have survived Like some other controversial Svetāmbara Jain texts, it has had a slightly nebulous and marginal existence. Indeed, at the beginning of the seventeenth

¹² Gurutattvapradīpa, vv 3-8 with autocommentary Edited by Muni Lābhasara (Kapadvamj Mithabhai Kalyānchand Pitha, 1961)

¹³ Gurutattvapradīpa, op cit, v 11

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century the Gurutattvapradipa was publicly banned by the senior monastic leadership on the grounds that it was a source of factionalism Its adoption by Dharma-sagara¹⁴ led to sectarian debates as well as polarization within the Tapa Gaccha Dharmasagara's writings were an extension of the Gurutattvapradipa's concerns They represent a strongly and subtly argued supremacist perspective on Jainism and are fiercely exclusivist in their refusal to accept the validity of any religious path different from Dharmasagara's own sect, the Tapa Gaccha Furthermore, they remained a significant issue in the Svetambara community well into the second half of the seventeenth century While I do not intend to pursue Dharmasagara's arguments here, their existence should not be disguised by those who would wish to present Jainism in exclusively irenic terms and as promoting a general intellectual tolerance based on the principle of anekantavada Instead, I would turn here to an opponent of Dharmasagara's ideas and one of Jainism's greatest intellectuals, Yasovijaya (1624-88)

Yasovijaya has become a near talismanic figure for the contemporary Svetambara monastic community and is, in particular, identified with the quality of *madhyasthya* or neutrality. A commemorative sign which invokes this can be glimpsed today through the dust and fumes in the old city of Ahmedabad at Yasovijaya Chauk at the Relief Road end of Ratan Pol where Yasovijaya lived for many years Although Yasovijaya's scholarly reach extended over the entire range of Jain literature, his frequent reference to

¹⁴ Dundas, The Jains, op cit, pp 163-64

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Haribhadra suggests that he considered the latter as his real and only intellectual equivalent in earlier Svetāmbara tradition, and he saw himself as Haribhadra's successor. It was Haribhadra's reputation for being influenced only by the logical cogency of doctrines and viewpoints (anekantavāda) that appears to have shaped Yaśovijaya's irenic but also critical attitude towards other sects and traditions.

Yasovijaya's broad perspective on the status of members of other religious paths was expressed in the Dharmapariksa, "An Examination of the Jain Religion," a lengthy Sanskrit auto-commentary on 104 Prakrit verses produced in 1669 In this text, in which no serious reference is made to anekāntavāda, Yasovijaya argues that it is pointless to take a negative stance towards a position found in another soteriological path if it is effectively no different from Jainism Unquestionably (and Yasovijaya quotes Haribhadra to this effect) the principled non-Jain derives his positive qualities precisely from his loyal adherence to his own scriptural tradition, this being in itself indicative of a morally upright position. The Jain, however, can take a madhyastha position, devoid of partisan passion, because Jainism is universalist in that it combines and encompasses all possible viewpoints Here, then, at the outset Yasovijaya's ostensibly irenic approach can also be seen to reflect a view of Jainism as inherently superior to those sectarian and religious paths which do not adopt such a perspective

Yaśovijaya's initial technique in confronting Dharmasāgara's position is to assess the various types of false belief which have been traditionally identified in Jainism These include not merely wrongheaded attachment to

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what is incorrect but also an indiscriminate attachment to all views as being true (anabhigralika), effectively a kind of misconceived relativism Individuals in thrall to such intellectual dysfunctioning should not be accommodated in any way. However, Yasovijaya makes the general point that even those who through the power of delusion subscribe to false intellectual and religious positions may nonetheless have that quiescence or calm characteristic of the Jain path. This positive view of non-Jains is bolstered by reference to Haribhadra who had claimed that Hindus such as Patañjali, the author of the Yoga Sūtras, could be incorporated into the lower stages of the Jain path by virtue of possession of yogic insight (yogadrsti)

This gives rise to an inevitable question, how non-Jains can be in possession of the necessary moral qualities in the first place without direct participation within the Jain path? Yaśovijaya attempts to address this by discussing Jainism in terms of its inner (bhava) and outer (dravya) characteristics Non-Jains, even though lacking totally correct discrimination, can reach Jainism in the inner, spiritual sense simply through being servants of the linas As a purely internal perspective, however, this might be regarded as having the unwelcome result of doing away with the necessary socio-religious distinction between Jain and non-Jain, so Yasovijaya insists that such individuals must be "free of the fault of attachment to what is untrue" (galitāsadgraliadosa) In other words, acknowledgement of the authority of the linas is worthless if it still involves promotion and advocacy of views contrary to their teachings (a standpoint which, it must be admitted, slightly at variance with what Yasovijaya has stated before) Yasovijaya invokes once again the centrality of

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madhyasthya as not so much a neutral quality as the sine qua non for Jainism those whose minds are purified by it are Jains in terms of their internal, spiritual perspective and thus cannot disagree with the teachings of the Jinas

A community consisting of genuine Jains and those who are Jains in spirit, non-Jain Jains as it were, linked by a shared faith in the teachings and authority of the Jinas might be theoretically possible, but this still fails to address the issue that the latter group do not conform to outward visible Jain practice which, as Yasovijaya points out, is necessarily interrelated with "inner" Jainism In fact, while it may on the face of it be impossible for non-lains to conform to the external obligations of Jainism because they follow the behavioral requirements of their own particular path, it is nonetheless sufficient that all these requirements relate to a morally upright person who does no evil and conforms to a morally appropriate mode of behaviour (akarananiyama) In other words, following the actions prescribed by one's own religious path does not preclude being on the Jain path For Yasovijaya the obvious example of such an individual is, once more, Patanjali, the author of the Yoga Sūtras, who, as just mentioned, was accepted by Haribhadra having the necessary neutrality as (mādhyasthya) and absence of delusion and as having experienced the yogic "flash" characteristic of all genuine holy men Such an individual thus falls into the category of what Jainism has styled since scriptural times desaradhaka, which is to say a "partial adherent," following the Jain path but lacking completely developed knowledge and faith However, there has to be purity of intention. even acts of compassion are worthless if they are still permeated by intense false belief

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Apparently, Yaśovijaya quite willingly accepts the possibility of the spiritual commitment of members of other religious paths coinciding with the requirements of Jainism and avoiding the cardinal fault of one-pointed perspective (ekantika). If this were not the case, then the references in the Jain scriptures to members of other sects who had actually achieved liberation (anyalingasiddha) could not be correct. It must therefore be concluded, claims Yasovijaya, that individuals such as Patañjali follow a code of behaviour approved of both by their own path and that of the Jains. To advance on a religious path, one must have positive qualities and if another path does happen to concur with one's own in that respect, then that merely strengthens it

According to Yasovijaya, the Jain teachings are multifarious masmuch as they instil various qualities in different types of individuals who have differing responses to such teachings However, at the same time these teachings are founded on the solid unifying basis of watchful moral behaviour (apramada) Thus, any statement occurring in another tradition which promotes a genuine spiritual stance and is at the same time in accord with Jain teaching must in actuality be interpreted as deriving from Jainism What must be regarded as disbarring another view from accommodation within Jainism is not so much the view itself as some sort of passionate attachment towards it Yaśovijaya, following Haribhadra,15 refers to the possibility of what seems to be a general category of religion (samanyadharma) which transcends sectarian boundaries

¹⁵ Haribhadra, ogabindu, v 2, in Haribhadrayogabharati, op cit

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Those others who [broadly] conform to the [Jain] path cannot be deemed to be heretical simply on the grounds that they do not understand ontological categories such as the soul in the manner approved by the Jains, for their position [does actually] end up in their understanding these categories correctly, provided there is abandonment of partiality towards any disputed part [of the doctrine] his is not just a question of accidental resemblance to the Jain path These individuals are in fact involved in samanyadharma 10

However, perhaps predictably, it is clear that samanyadharma in its basics corresponds to Jainism Buddhism, for example, cannot as an institutionalised and supposedly nonviolent religion, participate in this "general religion" because it claims an independent source of authority which only the Jinas can have Similarly, there can be no question of Jainism, which is the origin of all philosophical standpoints, incorporating morally inappropriate teachings such as Vedic injunctions about sacrificial killing Jainism can be the source of all intellectual views only in the sense that it makes clear what its own teachings are and what are the teachings of others

What I have been drawing attention to is a Jain argument not couched in terms of anekantavada, possibly unparalleled in Indian thought up to this time, which concentrates on the qualities and the validity of praising upright individuals, even if they belong to a different and

¹⁶ Yasovijaya, *Dharmapariksa* (Mumbai Shri Andheri Gujarati Jain Sangha, 1986), p. 119

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manifestly false religious path. As discussed in this paper, there is one side of this argument, as represented by Dharmasagara, which is unwilling to acknowledge the possibility of mitigating qualities in non-Jains and Jain sectarians Yasovijaya, on the other hand, is more open to the positive qualities of non-Jains, no doubt as befits an individual who himself attempted in practical terms to smooth over sectarian differences within the Svetambara community. Yet, in his inclusivism Yasovijaya never abandons a sense of the superiority of Jainism, and can thus be seen to be applying the same soit of ranking perspective as found in Hinduism. It is Yaśovijaya's image of Jainism which has become the dominant one today.

¹⁷ A full treatment of this subject will appear in my forthcoming study, titled "Sudharman's Heirs History, Scripture and Controversy in a Medieval Jain Sect"

Religious Dissonance and Reconciliation: The Haribhadra Story

CHRISTOPHER KEY CHAPPLE

During this visibly strife-ridden period following the destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent war with Iraq, it is interesting and perhaps instructive to review how Jains have grappled with their alterity, their difference, their otherness. From the non-Jain accounts such as found in the early Buddhist records, the Jains appear to be stand-apart people, distinguished by their eating habits, their lay occupations, and the austere lifestyle observed by members of their mendicant orders. Yet, rather than being reviled and suppressed, Jains for the most part have managed to survive with respect to their non-Jain colleagues except for occasional calamitous outbursts of hatred against them for their difference.

¹ One instance of suppression would come during the eleventh century in Tamil Nadu where Tirujnanasambandhar, a Hindu king, reportedly slaughtered many Jains, as depicted at the Minakshi Temple in Madurai See Bhaskar Anand Salatore, Mediaeval Jainism With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire (Bombay Karnatak Publishing House, 1938), pp 278-279

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In this essay, I will examine how throughout their history the Jains have defined themselves as distinct from competing religious groups, hence avoiding the pitfall of being absorbed into the mainstream, which happened with the Buddhists ² Then I will turn to a troublesome story about Haribhadra that attributes to him horrendous acts of violence I will examine select writings from the Haribhadra corpus that address the issue of religious plurality in a conciliatory fashion. I will also offer some observations regarding the workability of a theory of nonviolence (alumsa) as suggested by Haribhadra and pacifism in light of the contemporary situation.

Jainism, since at least the fifth century BCE, has existed within a pluralistic context. Many of the early converts to Buddhism hailed from the Jain faith, as can be seen in the collection of poems about women, the *Therigatha*, which developed shortly after the Buddha's passing ³ These poems indicate that the majority of Jains

Another instance is the death of Todar Mal (1719-1766), who, as noted by Paul Dundas, "seems to have been executed as a sectarian leader in the aftermath of what would today be described as a 'communal disturbance'" [for being a] "denouncer of both Hinduism and Islam as false religions" See Paul Dundas, "Jain Perceptions of Islam in the Early Modern Period," Indo-Iranian Journal, Vol 42, 1999, pp 35-46, p 42

² See Padmanabh S Jaini, "The Disappearance of Buddhism and the Survival of Jainism in India A Study in Contrast" in Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies (Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 2000)

³ Susan Murcott, The First Buddhist Women Translations and Commentaries on the Therigatha (Berkeley, California Parallax Press, 1991)

were prosperous merchants, and their mendicants followed a highly rigorous discipline that continues to characterize the Jain community even today. From their original homeland in northeast India, Jains spread through all parts of India, particularly in the south (Karnataka and Madhyapradesh) and the west (Gujarat and Rajasthan). With the exception of the near-mythical account of the Hindu blood-letting of Jains in medieval Tamil Nadu, Jains seem mostly to have avoided persecution without overly compromising their core religious practices and identity

One source for understanding the survivability of the Jains can be found in their philosophical approach to pluralism On the one hand, Jainism contains perhaps the world's most plural and individualistic theology Numerous souls, present from beginningless time, countlessly reincarnate, taking on new forms depending upon the action or karma in their prior births No god created these souls No god or person controls these souls Each individual forges his or her own course and determines one's degree of happiness or sorrow in this life and the lives to come lainism is both individualistic and voluntaristic Ultimately, one can only be concerned with one's own karma Some of the most individualistic lains state that to interfere with the karma of another would be fruitless and inappropriate, and would most likely bring harm to oneself This philosophy, in addition to emphasizing personal responsibility, also acknowledges that there are many paths pursued by different people, according to their karma Eventually, given the right karmic circumstances, a person might eventually be born as a Jain. Consequently, Jainism tended not to seek converts, though it did actively promulgate its teaching regarding nonviolence (alumsa)

Jains did not espouse relativism. Throughout its long history, Jain identity has been maintained by clearly delineating Jain beliefs as distinct from the views and practices of others In this regard, Jains have been consistently clear about what distinguishes them from people of other faiths, not just in regard to vegetarianism and occupation, but in terms of theological confession The Ajivaka faith, which has since disappeared, has been closely associated with Jainism as recorded in the early literature It promulgated a form of fatalism that the Jains disdained because it de-emphasized the need to practice nonviolence and countered the lain insistence on personal responsibility From an early period the Jains criticized the Brahmins, both for their practice of bloody sacrifice and for their belief in a single (eka), underlying, immutable (anitya) soul The lains criticized the Buddhists for their belief in the non-soul (anātman) These arguments can all be found in the early literature of the Jains, particularly the writings of Siddhasena Divakara (fifth century), Akalanka (eighth century), and Vidyananda (ninth century) 4

In the medieval and modern period, three new traditions came under close scrutiny. The great scholar Haribhadrasuri (700-770 CE) developed an elaborate critique of *Tantra* in his *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, claiming that it leads people into delusion and causes harm to them Various Jain theologians presented critiques of Islam,

⁴ See Padmanabh S Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Berkeley The University of California Press, 1979), pp 83-85 and 91-93

including Devavimala Ganin within the *Htrasaubhagya*, his hagiography of Hiravijaya Sūri (1527-1595), and the *Moksamargaprakaśaka* of Todar Mal (1719-1766) Both discount the notion of a creator God and condemn the killing of animals allowed within the Islamic tradition ⁵ Similarly, the early contact of the Jains with the Christians was unfriendly, with Vijayadeva Sūri (1577-1656) suggesting that the Portuguese Catholic "never approves of another religion except his own" Like their objections to Hindu and Muslim theologies, Jains would disagree with Christian notions of God and their derision of dietary restrictions such as vegetarianism

Religious Intolerance: Stories Attributed to Haribhadra

Unlike the western world where dissenters from the theological mainstream did not fare so well and heretics were often harassed and even killed,⁷ the commitment to ahimsa allowed the Jains to remain in

⁵ See Paul Dundas, "Jain Perceptions of Islam in the Early Modern Period," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 42, pp. 35-46, 1999

⁶ Ibid , p 45

⁷ In medieval Europe, Inquisitions were established to search for heretics and punish them. Seven kinds of punishments were used for this purpose. For detailed treatment of the Cathars and the Waldensians – both of whom rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, see Albert C Shannon, *The Medieval Inquisition*, second edition (Collegeville, Minnesota. The Liturgical Press, 1991), pp. 67, 133. Even Protestants in America were not free from persecution within their own ranks. Quakers who had fled to colonial Massachusetts to escape religious persecution in England were killed by hanging in Boston Commons because of their unorthodox beliefs.

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relative harmony with others who did not share their theology. Their philosophy of "live and let live" made the Jains unique even within the context of the Indian subcontinent which too had been often plagued by religious intolerance. However, stories in which terrible violence is attributed to a Jain scholar, Haribhadra--noted otherwise for his tolerance and commitment to nonviolence--presents an odd and intriguing case. I will analyze these stories in the rest of this paper.

Haribhadra lived in India during a time of great philosophical diversity. The period following the Guptas and prior to the rule of Delhi Sultanate was characterized by the proliferation of *Purānas*, the flowering of *Saiva* and Vaisnava philosophy, the *Bliakti* movement in the south, the dawn of *Tantra* including emphasis on goddess worship, and the ongoing observance of the Vedic sacrificial system ⁹ Buddhism and Yoga, both of which

^{*} For example, Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, unlike his more liberal predecessor Akbar, sought to accomplish mass conversions to Islam during his reign. He first made peaceful overtures, then offered money. If people would not convert, he would punish them and sow dissent to divide the non-Muslims Eventually, he resorted to forcible conversions. His treatment of the Sikhs, in particular, and the killings of three Sikh followers and the beheading of Guru Tegh Bahadur, are examples of grave religious intolerance. For a detailed discussion of this see Sikh Religion (Detroit, Michigan Sikh Missionary Center, 1990), pp. 174, 178

⁹ Traditionally, the Jains have placed his dates from 459 to 529 CE, which fits within the post-Gupta, pre-Islamic time frame However, in 1919 Muni Jinavijayaji, a Jain monk and scholar, published an extensive critique of these dates, noting

had a strong presence in India at the time, offered the most direct competition to Jainism since all three systems shared an emphasis on self-effort in the quest toward spiritual uplift and liberation. Haribhadra was the son of Sankarabhatta and his wife Ganga, born into the Brahmin caste. He lived either in Brahmapuri or in Citrakūta, which is identified with Chittor, the capital of Mewar in Rajasthan ¹⁰. He eventually became a Jain monk of the Vidyādhara Gaccha headed by Jinabhata, and wandered throughout Western India as a member of the Svetāmbara order. Several traditional authors recorded legendary tales about the life, adventures, misadventures, and work of this prodigious scholar. Phyllis Granoff has summarized many such primary stories about Haribhadra. ¹¹ In these stories,

that Haribhadra had quoted prominent authors who flourished after his supposed dates. As a result of this essay, Jain and western scholars alike have accepted later dates for Haribhadra, also known as Haribhadrasori, from 700 to 770 C. E. However, R. Williams contends that in fact some of the texts attributed to Haribhadra could have been written in the sixth century, and suggests that in fact there were two Haribhadras, with the eighth century. Haribhadra, whom he calls Yakini-putra, imitating the style of an earlier master. See R. Williams, "Haribhadra," in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. XXVIII (1965), pp. 101-111

¹⁰ R S Shukla, *India as Known to Haribhadra Suri* (Meerut Kusumanjali Prakashan, 1989), p 1

¹¹ She draws from a variety of works that begin to appear in the twelfth century, including Bhadresvara's Kahavali, Sarvarājamuni's commentary on Jinadatta's Ganadharardhaþataka, Prabhācandra's Kathakoša (1077 C E), a collection of stories known as the Puratanaprabandhasamgraha, the Prabhavakacarita, also

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two primary themes remain constant his conversion to Jainism and his conflict with the Buddhists

The first set of stories reveal a man possessed of both brilliance and arrogance. In his early years, Haribhadra, a member of the Brahmin caste, achieved a great degree of learning. He became quite boastful about his academic accomplishments and tied a golden plate around his belly to prevent it from bursting from the weight of all his knowledge. In another version, he also carries a "twig from the jambu tree to show to all that there was no one his equal in all of Jambudvīpa, that is in all the civilized world. He also carried a spade, a net and a ladder in his desire to seek out creatures living in the earth, in water and in the ether in order to defeat them with his great learning "12"

Thinking he had learned all that could be known, he proclaimed that if anyone could tell him something new, he would devote his life in its pursuit. It so happened that he overheard a Jain nun called Yakini reciting a verse he could not understand. Having been humiliated, he turned first to her and then to her teacher, Jinadatta, for instruction in the Jain faith, which he then embraced. After a period of study, he was granted the title Suri or teacher and began to promulgate Jainism. In several of his treatises, the colophon or final verse.

attributed to a scholar named Prabhacandra, but at a later date (1277 CE), and Rajasekharasuri's *Prabandhakośa* (1349 CE) See Phyllis Granoff, "Jain Lives of Haribhadra An Inquiry into the Sources and Logic of the Legends," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol 17, No 2, 1989, pp 111-112

¹² Ibid , p 113

describes him as Yākinī-putra, or Yākinī's son, indicating the influence of this Jain nun on his life and thought.

The second set of stories include dramatic and grisly tales of espionage, murder, and revenge. The *Prabhāvakacarīta* of Prabhācandra (1277 CE) and the *Prabandhākośa* of Rājaśekharasūri (1349 CE), building on earlier accounts, narrate the tragic story of two brothers, Hamsa and Paramahamsa—who were both nephews and students of Haribhadra ¹³ They go to Mahābodhi to learn about the teachings of the Buddha. The brothers are

¹³ These nephews seem to be styled after two Jain brothers, Akalanka and Niskalanka, whose story is told in the Kathakosa (1077 CE) two centuries before a variant story about Haribhadra occurs in the Prabhavakacarita In the Kathakośa, the two brothers are put to a Buddhist loyalty test, fail, and beat a hasty escape Niskalanka is captured and put to death Akalanka is sheltered by a Jain queen and beats the Buddhist goddess Fara in debate (Granoff, 114) The Haribhadra story, which occurs in several accounts, changes the names of the brothers to Hamsa and Paramahamsa In the Puratanaprabandhasamgraha, Haribhadra does not encourage the two students to enter the monastery In this account, Hamsa dies fighting Buddhist soldiers and Paramahamsa is killed after losing the A bird takes Paramahamsa's bloodied path-clearing broom to Haribhadra, who, in a rage, "makes a cauldron of boiling oil and magically causes the Buddhists to fly through the sky and land in his boiling pot, where they [700 Buddhists] are scalded to death" (Granoff, 117) The mayhem stops when one of Haribhadra's students, sent by the teacher linabhadra, interrupts this process. Out of continuing despair (which would not be acceptable within the Jain faith), he then fasts to death For a complete investigation of these stories, see the excellent and intriguing article by Phyllis Granoff cited above

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exposed as spies after uttering an invocation to the lina when awakened by suspicious Buddhists in the middle of the night They use the umbrellas to escape from the monastery Buddhist soldiers catch and kill Hamsa Paramahamsa takes refuge with King Sūrapāla,14 who proposes a debate between Paramahamsa and the Buddhists The goddess Tara secretly assists the Buddhists The Jain goddess Amba advises Paramahamsa about how to trick Tara by asking her to repeat what she said the prior day, an impossibility for the gods who are unable to keep track of time Paramahamsa won the debate However. the Buddhists still intend to kill him. He hides as a laborer who washes clothes and then escapes to rejoin his uncle As he tells the story to Haribhadra, Paramahamsa dies from the grief that he suffers due to the death of his brother Haribhadra is outraged King Sürapāla arranges a debate between Haribhadra and the Buddhists One by one, the Buddhists are defeated and sent to their deaths in boiling oil as arranged by the King Out of great remorse for the killing of so many monks, Haribhadra then composes his many religious treatises, according to Rajasekhara Suri, each of the 1440 texts that Haribhadra wrote served as expiation for the 1440 Buddhists who died However, according to the Puratanaprabandha sangraha, this violent outburst occurred after he had written all but his final text

¹⁴ No records can be found that confirm the existence of this king

Intolerance or Respect for the Views of Others?

These stories of violence are completely at variance with the tremendous body of literature created by Haribhadra himself. Having worked closely with his Yogadrstisamuccaya and Yogabindu, I find it very odd that these tales of violence came to be associated with Haribhadra. Both texts extol the virtues of good people in all faiths, and are particularly solicitous toward the Buddhists. Phyllis Granoff observes.

Even at his most disputatious, in a text like the Sastravartasamuccaya, which is written with the sole intent of refuting rival doctrines, Haribhadra makes clear at the very onset of the text that his motives are not to stir up hatred and dissent, but to enlighten his readers and bring them the benefits of ultimate spiritual peace Haribhadra's respect for the Buddha is unmistakable when he calls him maliamuni, "the great sage" and one is left with the general impression that Haribhadra's respect for his Buddhist opponents is unchanged by his philosophical differences with them on specific points 15

His Saddarsanasamuccaya, a brief text of 87 verses, is used even today in India and the United States as a textbook for summarizing the major strands of Indian thought ¹⁶ His

¹⁵ Granoff, "Lives of Haribhadra," op cit, p 108

¹⁶ For a recent translation of Haribhadra's Saddarśana-samuccaya by Olle Qvarnstrom in "Haribhadra and the Beginning of Doxography in India" in NK Wagle and Olle Qvarnstrom, editors, Approaches to Jaina Studies Philosophy, Logic,

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Astakaprakarana lists eight qualities that can be universally applied to the faithful of any tradition nonviolence, truth, honesty, chastity, detachment, reverence for a teacher, the act of fasting, and knowledge Paul Dundas observes

The remarkable scholar Sukhalal Sanghvi, who overcame the handicap of blindness contracted very early in life to become one of the most incisive of recent interpreters of Jain philosophy, described Haribhadra in a tribute as a samadarshi, 'viewing everything on the same level,' and his eminence derives not just from the breadth of his intellectual command but from his willingness to articulate more clearly than any of his predecessors the full implications of Jainism's main claim to fame among Indian philosophical systems, the many-pointed doctrine ¹⁷

Through his extensive writings, Haribhadra demonstrates his commitment to understand and respect the views of others, while maintaining his commitment to the core Jain beliefs in nonviolence and the need to purify oneself of the influences of *karma*

Haribhadra's concern for respecting the views of all people of good faith can be seen throughout the Yogadrstisamuccaya(YDS) First of all, he always refers to good action in the most general terms, recommending that people follow the holy books (sastras) but without

Rituals and Symbols (Toronto University of Toronto Centre for South Asian Studies, 1999), pp 169-210

¹⁷ Paul Dundas, The Jams (London Routledge, 1992), p 197

specifying which books ought to be followed emphasizes that although one may become omniscient (sarvajña), each person will remain different and distinct (YDS 103)18 The content of experience is not shared. rather, the contentless purity, which cannot be quantified in any way, is the only common element within the experience of liberation or omniscience. He uses the metaphor of a king's servants "Just as a king has many dependents, divided according to whether they are near or far, etc., nonetheless all of them are his servants" (YDS 107) He states that even though they may have different names, the core, purified essence of the liberated ones remains constant (YDS 108) Although acknowledging a difference between those who have achieved liberation. nonetheless he regards all of them to be grounded in a common truth Haribhadra further emphasizes that truth, though expressed differently, is not essentially different Making references to Saivites, Vedantins, Yogins, and Buddhists, he states

> Eternal Siva, Highest Brahman, Accomplished Soul, Suchness With these words one refers to it, though the meaning is one in all the various forms (YDS 130)

He goes on to state that this highest truth, by whatever name, frees one from rebirth (YDS 131) Demonstrating his commitment to a plurality of

¹⁸ These summaries and translations are from a cotranslation by myself and John Casey in *Reconciling Yogas Haribhadra's Collection of Views on Yoga* by Christopher Key Chapple (Albany State University of New York Press, 2003)

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perspectives, Haribhadra comments that a variety of teachings are needed because people need to hear things in their own way Different seeds yield different plants, one cannot expect all things to be the same

Perhaps the teaching is one but there are various people who hear it On account of the inconceivable merit it bestows, it shines forth in various ways (YDS 136)

Haribhadra makes a plea for tolerance, writing that "various perspectives on conduct" can arise, (YDS 138) but that these should not be criticized, as one cannot be apprised of all the circumstances (YDS 140). He advocates a stance of reconciliation and insists that it would be improper to refute or revile well-intentioned people.

Hence it is not proper to refute words of reconciliation Refuting or reviling noble people, it seems, would be worse than cutting one's own tongue (YDS 141)

He advocated that even if one disagrees with another person's ideas, one should always strive to be helpful to the other. He criticizes the notion that logic alone can set one free as can be seen from the following passage.

With effort, even a position inferred through the proper establishment of premises may certainly be approached in another way, being assailed by opponents (YDS 145)

If the meaning of those things beyond the senses could be known through a statement of reason,

then by now it would have been ascertained by the scholars (YDS 146)

In other words, thoughts alone cannot set one free, in contrast, the arrogance associated with logic and scholarship can be a great impediment to one's liberation. He says that liberation requires a loosening of attachment to all things (dharmas), including argumentation and logic. Haribhadra concludes this section with an appeal to be kind and generous to all people. For instance, he writes

Even the slightest of pain to others is to be avoided with great effort. Along with this, one should strive to be helpful at all times (YDS 150)

This verse echoes a recurrent theme found in Jain texts. He then takes on a theme akin to the *Bodhisattva* ideal of Mahayana Buddhism

Even in regard to those with excessive sin who have been cast down by their own actions, one should have compassion for those beings, according to the logic of this highest dharma (YDS 152)

The task of the philosopher of nonviolence and of the Jain is to extend compassion toward other living beings

Reconsidering the Stories of Violence

In the light of the above passages from YDS, the stories about Haribhadra's violent acts against Buddhists seem implausible in several regards. First, the stories surfaced five hundred years following his death. Second, by the time these particular Haribhadra stories reached currency, Buddhism was on the wane, if not already largely demolished by the sacking of Buddhist monasteries

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and libraries by Islamic invaders. Third, the violent actions attributed to Haribhadra seem quite inconsistent with the Jain nonviolent values he adopted and professed. His critiques of Hindu sacrificial violence are well known, found in several of his texts, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit But the Buddhist tradition shares his disdain for violence in the name of religion, and Buddhists make unlikely candidates for Haribhadra's challenge and assault ¹⁹

Hence, if we look at the stories in terms of their historical sitz-im-leben, another story might be told religious challenge in northern India in the 13th century came not from the Buddhists but from the Muslims lains faced the difficult prospect of becoming an oppressed minority and needed to develop new strategies for being the "other" in a new context. In the Hindu-dominated world, their food observances gave them prestige, their marriage patterns formed no threat to and, in fact, largely reflected Hindu family practices, and their success in business as colleagues with other Vaisya merchants allowed the Jains to co-exist in relative peace with their neighbors However, the emergence of Islamic theology required new, more creative responses to ensure survival and self-protection By telling stories of Haribhadra, the exemplar of conversion and the author of several texts that

¹⁴ Phvllis Granoff suggests that the reason that Haribhadra so wanted to distinguish Jainism from Buddhism lay in the fact that as Jains sought patronage from Hindu kings, it might have been beneficial to clearly separate their own tradition from that of Buddhism, which had waned and become unpopular by the eleventh century See Granoff, "Jain Lives of Haribhadra," op cit, p 123

argue the supremacy of Jain doctrine, a new strategy emerges. Inverting the violence committed by others and attributing it to one's own community might have been a method for strengthening one's own self image, girding for continued confrontation. It would also have brought renewed attention to Haribhadra's work on pluralism, and provided a philosophical ground for remembering Haribhadra's techniques for establishing the value and practice of openness and tolerance which had helped their survival through the centuries.

By examining the actual writings of Haribhadra, no evidence can be found that he harbored or manifested violent tendencies. Because of the late date of the nephew stories and because they seem to be patterned on earlier stories told in the *Kathākośa*, a text unrelated to Haribhadra, I would like to suggest that these tales in fact were a veiled reference to a contemporary situation, reflecting Jain difficulties in the presence of Islam What lessons can be learned from this suggestion by the thirteenth and fourteenth century story-tellers that people under duress can learn from the life of Haribhadra? What do these stories of Haribhadra convey to us? What can be learned about surviving in a climate of religious hostility from the wisdom of Haribhadra?

Human cruelty to other human beings knows no bounds Even well intentioned, upright people (in the stories told by Prabhacandra and Rajasekharasuri, even Haribhadra himself) can be prompted into violent acts of hatred and revenge A fascinating recent work by John Conroy, Unspeakable Acts Ordinary People, tells how Irish, Israelis, and Kosovans were coerced out of their human

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heartedness to become torturers ²⁰ Thich Nhat Hanh, in his poem "Call Me By My True Names" reminds his readers and listeners that one can be a victim, such as the defenseless boat girl raped by a pirate that he describes But one can also become a perpetrator Thich Nhat Hanh writes, "I am [also] the pirate, my heart not yet capable of seeing and loving "²¹

Haribhadra of lore and Haribhadra the author left two legacies Though clearly without historical basis, the Haribhadra stories have indicated that he staged espionage, sent his innocent nephews into the camp of the "other," and in his rage when they were discovered and punished, put to death hundreds of Buddhists Haribhadra the philosopher and theologian promulgated a style of thinking that fosters a quest for self-understanding and respect for the views of others His gentle message, as we have seen, urges one not to be aggressive in one's views but to teach by example, always striving for greater purity and truth The first Haribhadra seeks and obtains revenge The second Haribhadra attempts to work for reconciliation, or at least peaceful co-existence Martha Minow, in a comprehensive survey of contemporary attempts at conflict resolution, outlines the approaches to overcome the pain of wrongs committed

²⁰ John Conroy, Unspeakable Acts, Ordinary People The Dynamics of Torture (New York Alfred Knopf, 2000)

²¹ Christopher S Queen and Sallie B King (eds.), Engaged Buddhism Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia (Albany State University of New York Press, 1996), p. 339

Responses to collective violence lurch among of history (truth), (forgiveness), justice (punishment, compensation, and deterrence), therapy (healing), art (commemoration and disturbance). education (learning lessons) None is adequate Yet, invoking these rhetorics through collective steps such as prosecutions, truth commissions, memorials, and education, people wager that social responses can alter the emotional experiences of individuals and societies living after mass violence Perhaps rather than seeking revenge, people can come to desire to rebuild 22

For Haribhadra the philosopher, his desire to be of a friendly mind to people of all faiths most likely stemmed from a process of self-reflection prompted by his atoning for his youthful hubris. His approaches to philosophical pluralism mirror, at least, two of the ideas put forth by Martha Minow he attempts to truthfully present rival views and he works to educate. One might also find therapeutic aspects of his way of thinking and find art and beauty in his elegant use of language. The violent Haribhadra of lore does not fulfill any of these qualities, even his attempt at justice falls short of adequate or ethical

The Jain tradition does allow its lay adherents to protect themselves and perhaps use violence as a last resort. However, the best of self-protection entails

²² Martha Minow, Between Vengeance and Forgiveness Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence (Boston Beacon Press, 1998), p. 147

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advance thinking, alertness, and an unwillingness to place oneself in a potentially harmful situation Furthermore, karma theory prompts any person committed to nonviolence to first engage in an honest process of self-What cause underlies any occasion for violence? Does the fault lie within oneself? What further disturbances will be caused by a violent response? By understanding the complex net of karmic repercussions, the thoughtful Jain, rather than acting from a place of anger, will attempt to apply an analysis that takes into account introspection, forgiveness, some of reconciliation A cultural expression of this can be found in the ritual of asking forgiveness for even an unintended wrong that characterizes Jain ritual life

In the context of an increasing occurrence of violence in our world, the Haribhadra story of violence and the Haribhadra philosophy of tolerance offer two distinct types of solutions. One could respond in kind, as in the US bombing in Afghanistan and in the alleged description of Haribhadra luring Buddhists to their death Conversely, one could examine the root sources of discontent, examine if one finds oneself totally free of guilt, and explore one of the many avenues suggested recently by Martha Minow, and earlier by Haribhadra, the medieval philosopher through his writings, such as forgiveness, healing, and education

How can one guard against the infinite varieties of human cruelty and violence including assent to "retributive justice"? What practice can serve as an antidote for a human being's descent into inhumanness? I would like to suggest that remembrance and mindfulness of one's own humanity and the humanity of the other even

in times of difficulty must be maintained. In his grief and rage, Haribhadra is, in the telling of his story, said to have tortured 700 or even 1440 Buddhists to the point of death. The scale of Haribhadra's mythic revenge reminds us that, even with the best of intentions, human beings are capable of violence because of firmly held religious convictions. Vigilance is needed to keep to the precept put forth by Haribhadra, the philosopher and author, that "one must maintain compassion even toward those with excessive sin". Only by adhering to this most difficult measure of forgiveness can one break the cycle of violence.

III

Jainism in History Textbooks and in Art and Epigraphy

Jainism and Mahavīra in Indian History Textbooks

TARA SETHIA

Textbooks for college courses play a critical role in the process of learning. In many courses they serve as "authentic" sources of knowledge for students, who may know little about the subject matter. This is particularly true in case of survey courses such as. History of India taught in the United States. One of the topics students are most interested in learning about India is the Indic religions. Of the major Indian religions, Jainism is the least discussed in the history textbooks. In this paper, I focus on the representation of Jainism and Mahavira in Indian History textbooks.

Jainism, as we know today, is primarily rooted in the teachings of Mahāvīra, and is India's ancient most *Sramana* tradition. The Jain canonical literature, the *Agamas*, not only serve a significant role within the tradition but are also regarded as primary sources for historians and social scientists, especially in writing about early periods of Indian history. Jainism has a rich history of art and architecture as seen in the temples, *derasars*, *sthanakas*, etc; and is also vital to the understanding of India's spiritual and philosophical traditions. Its fundamental principle of

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The eight textbooks examined in this paper are written by internationally known scholars of India from Britain, Germany, India, and the United States, and are published by reputable publishers. Some of these books have been reprinted more than once. However, references to these textbooks in this paper are from the editions listed below

John Keay, India (New York Grove, 2000)

Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, A History of India (London Routledge, third edition, 1998)

David Ludden, India and South Asia A Short History (Oxford Oneworld Publications, 2002)

Barbara D Metcalf and Thomas R Metcalf, A Concise History of India (Cambridge and New York Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Peter Robb, A History of India (New York Palgrave, 2002)

Burton Stein, History of India (Oxford Basil Blackwell, third edition, 2000)

Romila Thapar, A History of India (New York Penguin, reprinted in 1990)

Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India (New York Oxford University Press, sixth edition, 2000)

Jamism and New Spirituality (Peace Publications, 2002) P S Jamis's essays on Jamism over the years have been reprinted recently as Collected Papers on Jama Studies (Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 2000)

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ahimsa is highly relevant to contemporary inquiries in ecology, peace studies, and bioethics. Therefore, the study of this religion, like that of Hinduism and Buddhism, is important not only to the understanding of continuity and change in Indian history, but is important also for appreciating the place of our past in our future.

In reviewing several leading college textbooks of Indian History, however, I find a very different message In these textbooks the coverage of Jainism is less than adequate and its representation in the historical narrative is often superficial, warped and, in some instances, even diversionary and reminiscent of orientalism. This is particularly puzzling given the growing scholarship pertaining to Indian religions. Even Jainism, which is not quite as established a field of study as. Hinduism or Buddhism, has elicited a great deal of scholarly interest in the recent years. Yet, the majority of textbooks on Indian History do not appear to draw upon such scholarship

Beginning with the publication of Padmanabh S Jaini's The Jaina Path of Purification (Berkeley University of California Press, 1979), which is regarded like a primary source among Jain scholars, several key works have appeared recently Of particular merit are the following Paul Dundas, The Jains (London Routledge, 1992, revised edition, 2002), Kendall W Folkert, Scripture and Community Collected Essays on the Jains, ed by John E Cort (Atlanta Scholars Press, 1993), Nathmal Tatia (ed and trans), Umasvati's Tattvartha Satra That Which Is (San Francisco Harper Collins, 1994), Lawrence Babb, The Absent Lord (Berkeley University of California Press, 1996), John E Cort, Jains in the World (New York Oxford University Press, 2001), Christopher Key Chapple (ed), Jainism and Ecology (Cambridge Harvard University Press, 2002), Vastupal Parikh,

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Based on my review of these eight textbooks, it appears that for the most part the authors' portrayal of Jainism in the context of Indian History is dictated by the assumption that religion is a matter of antiquity and, therefore, does not deserve any discussion in the historical narrative of subsequent time periods. Within the context of the ancient period, coverage of Jainism in most of these textbooks appears to lack depth, and at times also in accuracy That is, in their discussion, the majority of authors are more occupied with the description of physical appearances rather than principles, more concerned with the seemingly exotic and strange customs without regard to the understanding of key concepts and values they embody There is also a tendency to present religions as uniform systems disregarding the diversity characterizes each of the Indic religions In what is said about Jainism and Mahavira in these textbooks, and also how it is said there, I see a variety of problems that can broadly be categorized as follows i) inadequate coverage, ii) misconception, iii) flawed comparison, iv) misrepresentation, and v) neo-orientalism

I Inadequate Coverage

I fully recognize that given the longevity and complexity of Indian History, a textbook can only provide limited space to the discussion of various topics. Given such limitation, however, it is even more important that whatever information is provided on any topic is truly germane to the understanding of the topic, is balanced and historically supported. To assess the adequacy of coverage of Jainism in these texts, I have asked the following questions. Is the coverage of this topic

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substantive for a college textbook? Is the information provided germane to the proper understanding of Jainism? Is the interpretation balanced and fact-based?

Response to these questions may differ from one reviewer to the other, but it is possible to arrive at some consensus on what might be covered for a proper understanding of Jainism in the context of Indian History For instance, it will be reasonable to expect to learn about Jainism from an Indian History textbook in terms of the following What was the larger historical context and milieu in which Jainism emerged and subsequently evolved? How is Mahavīra represented in Indian History? What do we learn about his world-view, key concepts, and fundamental teachings or lessons? What do we learn about the followers, patrons, and persecutors of Jainism? What has been the larger significance of Jainism in terms of the historical change and impact within and outside India? Equally important is the question of how this information about Jain tradition is integrated in the larger scheme of historical narrative about India

My analysis suggests that the extent and quality of coverage about Jainism varies a great deal in the textbooks under review. However, by and large, the coverage of Jainism is less than adequate partly because political history appears as a predominant focus in many of these textbooks. I will briefly discuss each of these books in terms of its approach and coverage of this topic.

A Concise History of India by Barbara Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf, in spite of what the title might suggest, is about history of India since the Mughals This textbook has no discussion of Jainism at all The term "Jains" and

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the name Mahavira appear in the Glossary, but are not discussed in the body of the book 2

A History of India by Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund devotes just a couple of sentences mentioning Mahavira. This brevity of coverage by itself is not the only problem. The larger problem arises from the nature of the content and the historical context in which these few sentences appear. Consider the following paragraph.

The new Gangetic civilisation found its spiritual expression in a reform movement which was a reaction to the Brahmin-Kshatriya alliance of This reform movement is Late Vedic age mainly identified with the teachings of Gautama Buddha who is regarded as the first historic figure in Indian history The however, was not the only great reformer of the age There was also Mahavira, the founder of lainism, who is supposed to have been a younger contemporary of Buddha It could be said that Mahavira's teachings reappeared in the rigorous ethics of Mahatma Gandhi, who was influenced by Jainism as he grew up in Gujarati Bania family, the Banias being a dominant traders' caste 3

The passage has problems ranging from a lack of focus to inaccurate historical facts, from problems of

² See Barbara D Metcalf and Thomas R Metcalf, A Concise History of India (Cambridge & NewYork Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp 1x-xx

³ Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, A History of India (London Routledge 1986, 1990, 1998), pp 51-52

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definition to the problems of interpretation ⁴ Jainism as it has survived today is largely based on Mahāvīra's teachings. However, within the Jain tradition, Mahāvīra is regarded as the last *Tīrthankara* or spiritual teacher in the current cycle of twenty-four *Tīrthankaras*—none of whom is designated as the "founder". Each of these spiritual teachers revives Jainism which is believed to have existed from beginningless time. There is, however, some historical evidence corroborating to the presence of Jainism at least in the ninth century. B.C.E., and Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *Tīrthankara*, is regarded as an historical figure ⁵

India and South Asia A Short History by David Ludden begins with a recognition that South Asian history "is not a singular history" Yet, we find that Jainism and Mahavira are merely mentioned in the context of

⁴ To my knowledge, there is no credible historical account which has traced Indian history from a single individual However, there is significant history of India, by all accounts, prior to the times of Buddha Even though the dates surrounding Buddha and Mahavīra are not absolutely certain, most historical accounts place Mahavīra as the senior contemporary of Buddha

While Gandhi was undoubtedly influenced, to an extent, by Jainism However, such influence was primarily because of his ten-years of close association with Shrimad Rajchandra, a dedicated Jain scholar, as noted by Gandhi himself in his autobiography. For further discussion of Jainism and Gandhi, see Stephen Hay, "Jain Influence on Gandhi's Early Thought," in Sibnarayan Ray (ed.), Gandhi, India and the World (Philadelphia Temple University Press, 1970), pp. 29-38

⁵ For more details, see Padmanabh S Jaini, *The Jaina Path to Purification, op. cit*, pp 1-2, 10 and footnotes 2, 16-19

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Brahmanism and Buddhism in early India According to him the three had "much in common including their vast cosmology and complex ideas about reincarnation" While Brahmanism, and to an extent even Buddhism, is discussed in some detail, it is not clear, in what ways Jainism was different from other religious traditions in India, or what its contributions were in the larger context of Indian civilization

A History of India by Peter Robb devotes a short paragraph to Jainism in early India, and revisits it marginally and only in the context of medieval kings such as Kharavela and Kumarapala who were influenced by it Mahavira is represented as an organizer and instructor to his disciples for the preservation of his teachings? One does not, however, get any understanding of what these teachings were

India A History by John Keay is, according to the author, "not a cultural history of India, let alone history of Indian cults" There is merely a mention of Mahāvīra during the time of Buddha, and reference to Jains and Jainism appear in several places but in ways diminishing the essence of this tradition

A New History of India by Stanley Wolpert does touch upon a variety of the issues pertaining to Jainism such as the larger historical context and Mahavira's milieu,

⁶ David Ludden, *India and South Asia A Short History* (Oxford Oneworld Publications, 2002), pp 5, 25

⁷ Peter Robb, A History of India (New York Palgrave, 2002), p 14

⁸ John Keay, India (New York Grove, 2000), p xix

and discusses some of its doctrines 9 However, the discussion of Jainism is located mainly in the context of ancient India, and the representation of Mahāvīra and his teachings, at times, is misleading in nature

History of India by Burton Stein attempts to trace the religious developments beyond the ancient period, but is repetitive ¹⁰ Moreover, Stein is concerned more with the extraneous, the seemingly strange and the alien aspects of Indic traditions, including Jainism, than their key concepts and principles Often, his statements about Jainism are contradictory and confusing

Unlike other textbooks reviewed here, A History of India by Romila Thapar effectively weaves the discussion of Jainism along with her discussion of Buddhism throughout the narrative of her book ¹¹ The role of the Jains and the Buddhists in making India and Indian sciences known to the West is discussed. Also discussed in the narrative is Jain and Buddhist art and sculpture. We learn about the presence of Jain tradition prior to Mahāvīra. We are also informed that Mahāvīra's teachings were at first confined to eastern India and were preserved as oral tradition. However, the discussion of these teachings—the most significant aspect of Jainism—is somewhat lacking in clarity and substance.

⁹ Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India (New York Oxford University Press, 2000), pp 52-54

¹⁰ Burton Stein, History of India (Oxford Basil Blackwell, 2000)

¹¹ Romila Thapar, A History of India (New York Penguin, 1991)

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While more specific aspects of these books are discussed in the sections that follow, I do want to underscore that the coverage of Mahāvīra and Jainism in majority of these books is far from adequate. Discussion of Jainism is marginalized and is primarily anchored in ancient India. From majority of these books we neither gain a proper understanding of the key principles of Jainism nor do we learn about the significance of Jainism and its role in Indian history. The discussion of its core principle, ahimsā, which has variously influenced social, political, peace and environmental movements, 12 is, at best, superficial in nature

II. Misconceptions

Misconceptions about Jainism abound, and range from the meaning of simple names and terms to the understanding of its nature and key concepts. A few examples will illustrate the points I wish to make

Nature of Jainism

There is great amount of misconception about the nature of Jainism. In the textbooks under review, Jainism is sometimes described as an "atheistic" religion ¹³. But in another view Jainism appears to be polytheistic when *Tirthankaras* are portrayed as "the Jain equivalents of

¹² For a discussion of Jain worldview and its significance for an enduring ecological vision to address global ecological crises, see Chapple (ed.) Jainism and Ecology, op. cit

¹³ Robb, p 14; Stein, pp 64-65, Thapar, pp 64, 66 Thapar does avoid the use of the word "atheistic" in her discussion of Jainism in the recently published, *Early India* (London Penguin, 2002)

gods "14 Though these are quite contradictory views, they both result from the use of a western framework for "mapping" the nature of Jainism. Neither interpretation provides a proper understanding of the nature of Jainism. A more meaningful, and a more accurate, analysis could emerge by focusing on the worldview of the Jains Essential to the Jain worldview is the fact that the existents in the cosmos have neither a beginning nor an end, and hence the concept of creator God is irrelevant here. The Jains do venerate Tirthankaras Many Jains even worship Tirthankaras and dedicate temples to them And yet, Tirthankaras are not regarded as "gods" of a polytheistic In the polytheistic traditions the gods and goddesses possess varying levels of power, making some more powerful than others, and they are regarded as capable of doing personal good when pleased or harm when displeased In contrast, Tirthankaras are omnicient teachers—all equally venerable sources inspiration for the lains seeking their ultimate goal of moksa, the relsease from the cycle of rebirth The Tirthankaras have the most vital roles as "fordmakers" As builders of the ford that lead across the ocean of suffering, it is they who preach the path to moksa 15

Mahavira and the Jams

While students recognize that the term "Buddhist" comes from the Buddha, they usually do not know the

¹⁴ Wolpert, p 53

¹⁵ For an insightful discussion of the Jain world view and the role of fordmakers, see P S Jaini, Jaina Path, op cit, pp 29-34, and Paul Dundas, The Jains (London and New York Routledge, 2002), pp 19-22

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origin of the word, "Jain" In one of the books, Mahavira's name appears as "Mahavira Jain," and therefore, Jains are followers of Mahavira 16 "Jain" was not Mahavira's family name. It derives from the Sanskrit term. Jina, literally meaning the "conqueror". It does not refer to "spiritual conflict" as assumed by Burton Stein. The Jains use the word Jina as an epithet to describe those human teachers who became spiritual conquerors after completely overcoming anger and attachment, attained omniscience, and preached the path to moksa (liberation from the cycle of rebirth). The Jina are also referred to as Tirthankaras who preach and propagate the truth. Jains are, therefore, followers of the Jina 18.

Key Concepts and Teachings

What did Mahavīra teach? These books offer us a range of interpretations of his teachings, but not any substantive discussion of what these were. We are told, Mahavīra, like Buddha, "taught an ascetic world-denying philosophical and ethical system" But, we never learn about the nature of this ethical system or even its principal precepts. The Jains believe, according to one author, "everything in the universe, material or otherwise, has a soul Purification of soul is the purpose of living purification is not achieved through knowledge, knowledge being a relative quality "20 Such statements"

¹⁶ Metcalf and Metcalf, pp xix, xx

¹⁷ Stein, p 69

¹⁸ P S Jains, The Jaina Path to Purification, op cit, pp 1-3

¹⁹ Metcalf and Metcalf, p xx

²⁰ Thapar, p 65 This is also maintained in her recently published book, *Early India*, pp 166-167

result from misunderstandings of the Jain worldview First, Jainism maintains that there are two major categories of existents jiva (soul or living) and ajiva (matter or non-living) ²¹ Hence not everything in the universe has life Secondly, knowledge in its highest form, which in Jainism is known as kevalajāana, is a precondition for liberation Also, the significance that knowledge occupies within this tradition is underscored in the dictum from the Daśavaikalika Sūtra, "padhamam nānam tao dayā," that is, first knowledge, then compassion ²²

Jains in India and Abroad

Some of the common impression given in these texts can be illustrated by the statements such as the following Jains are prominent in Gujarat and Bombay ²³ And, unlike Buddhism, Jainism "never spread beyond India "²⁴ These statements suggest that Jainism has been a localized or regional religion and raise questions in the minds of the textbook readers. Are there any Jains in other parts of India? Did Jainism ever spread outside of India?

According to the 1991 Census of India, Jains are spread all over in India, with major concentrations in Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, and Delhi—the largest concentration being in Rajasthan ²⁵ Similarly, Jainism in the modern times,

²¹ See Chapple, Nonviolence to Animals, op cit, p 11

²² For a discussion of the primacy of knowledge in Jain world-view, see Dundas, *The Jains*, pp 160-163

²³ See Wolpert, p 54, Metcalf and Metcalf, p 1xx

²⁴ Stein, p 70

^{25 1991} Census of India Table C-9, Part VB (11) - Religion

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especially in the twentieth century, has spread to many different parts of the world via Jain diasporas

III. Flawed Comparisons

Comparative analysis is a good way of learning and teaching as it allows us to understand similarities and distinctiveness about things we compare. A precondition to an effective comparative analysis, however, is that we first understand on their own terms and within their own contexts the people, principles, concepts or whatever we wish to compare. When comparisons occur as a way of simply "mapping religions" without clarifying the individual categories of discussion, there is the risk of distortion and misunderstanding. One of the tendencies in the books under review is to often "map" Jainism through comparisons with Buddhism, and/or with Vedic and Upanisadic thought, without first discussing within each tradition the categories and concepts being compared

Comparisons with Brahmanism and Buddhism

According to one textbook, "Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism represented three solutions to fundamental problems of human existence and political order "26 However, what were these problems and solutions are not specified According to another textbook, the problem of beginningless cycle of rebirth for the Jains may be brought to an end by "complete self-abnegation and profound contemplation" Here the problem and solution are identified, but what exactly such a solution entails and how is this different from the Buddhist path to

²⁶ Ludden, p 25

²⁷ Robb, p 14

salvation is not discussed Comparing Jainism and Buddhism, one author notes,

Jainism was even more essentially moralistic in its outlook than Buddhism, with an even greater emphasis on austerity and mendicant monasticism as the sole route to salvation 28

The unclear relationship between morality and mendicant monasticism in the above statement does not allow us to understand how Jainism was more moralistic than Buddhism. Therefore, such comparisons fail to provide any meaningful insight into the nature or extent of Jain or Buddhist morality. The categories for making comparisons could have been, for example, the notions of nonviolence and compassion in the two traditions.

Ātman versus Jīva

The comparisons made in some of these textbooks confuse categories and concepts being compared Take for instance the following statement

Like atman, all jiva are eternal, but in contrast to Upanishadic idealism, there is no Jain equivalent to the infinite cosmic atman, only a finite number (millions of billions) of various degrees of jiva, some much more powerful than others ²⁹

Here the focus on contrasting the "infinite number" with the "finite number" of the souls is flawed, as the comparison is made on the basis of incorrect information. The number of jiva conceived within the Jain

²⁸ Stein, p 69

²⁹ Wolpert, p 53

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world view are not finite but ananta, or infinite ³⁰ The contrast between the very nature of atman and jiva can, however, help illuminate a different worldview within each tradition. In the *Upanisads* all atman are part of the cosmic atman, while under Jainism, each jiva is an independent, autonomous entity, fully responsible for its own acts (karma) and destiny ³¹

Concept of Karma

The following passage compares the concept of karma among the Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist traditions

Karma means work or act, and in formulation of Vedic ritual manuals, 'action' referred to ritual and ceremonial performances so meticulously executed as to compel the gods to act in obedience to them For Buddhists and Jamas, however, karma referred to the acts of ordinary men and women, the sums of whose lifetime behavior determined the body in which the soul (atman) would be reborn in the process of transmigration (samsara) Upon death, that is, souls were thought to pass from one to another body and associated social condition. The idea that every good action brought a measure of happiness and each bad action sorrow tended to suggest a mechanical moral process leading to fatalism

Nagin J Shah (trans) Jaina Philosophy and Religion by Muni Shri Nyayavijayaji (Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 2000), p 8

³¹ Nathmal Tatia (trans) Tattvartlia Satra, op cit, 5 21, pp xx and 131

³² Stein, p 66

The above comparison ignores the fact that the role of karma is defined differently in Buddhism and Jainism-which are lumped together in comparing the concept of karma in these two traditions with that of karma in Brahmanism 33 While all Indian traditions accept the idea of karma, there are significant differences among them in the ways in which they develop this concept as a coherent doctrine In this context, the Jain tradition, in the words of "stands clearly apart" from all other Indian PS Jaini, This is attested by the large number of texts traditions within Jain scriptures which deal with the complex sets of issues related to the doctrine of karma and rebirth Jains regard karma as matter in contrast to the samskara of the Hindus and bija of the Buddhists 34 Jain concept of karma is highly developed to include variety of karmic forms -- all of which result not just from actions of individuals, but also from the intensity of emotions Moreover, such comparison assumes a logical connection between karma and fatalism which misleading Fatalism disregards the role of human agency, while karma in Jamism recognizes the role of human agency in shaping one's fate

The examples above illustrate the flawed nature of comparisons made in many of the textbooks under review

³³ Similar comparison is made by Ludden See p 25

³⁴ For a discussion of doctrine of *karma* in Jainism and how it different from *karma* in other Indic traditions, see P S Jaini, "Karma and the Problem of Rebirth in Jainism," in Jaini (ed.), Collected Papers on Jaina Studies (Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 2000), pp. 121-145 and note 2 on p. 139

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Such comparisons not only fail to provide a substantive understanding of Jainism, and for that matter, of Buddhism and Brahmanism to which it is being compared, but also fail to recognize the uniqueness of these traditions and their specific contributions to the growth of religious and philosophical thought in India

IV Misrepresentation

Most problematic for the proper understanding of Jainism and its distinctive contributions to Indian philosophical and religious thought is the serious misrepresentations made about Mahavīra and his teachings. The following passages not only distort Mahavīra's sadhana and its significance but also factually misrepresent Mahavīra.

like the Buddha, he [Mahāvīra] abandoned his hedonistic life to become a wandering ascetic. He not only went naked, but also advocated and practiced self-torture and death by starvation. I hough it took him thirteen years from the time he resolved to starve himself to death before he finally succeeded in doing so

After thirteen years, often as a naked ascetic, he attained enlightenment and thereafter taught his doctrine in the kingdom of the Ganges region before succumbing to a ritual of slow starvation near the Magadhan capital of Rajagriha around 400 BCE ³⁶

³⁵ Wolpert, pp 52-53

³⁶ Stein, p 70

The thirteen years referred to in both passages above represent the most significant phase in Mahavira's life as a Tirthankara His sadhana as detailed in the Acaranga-sūtra, during which he frequently fasted, sometimes for a very long period of time, and often without water (total days when he took food during the period of almost thirteen years is said to be 349), practiced austerities (misportrayed as "self-torture") and renounced all attachment, including the attachment to his body Following his sadhana, Mahavira attained kevalainana (infinite knowledge), and became omniscient. At the end of this period of sadhana, Mahavira did not die, as the first passage above informs us, but he lived as a teacher for nearly thirty years, before he became a siddha (liberated soul) after his nirvana in Pavapuri, near modern city of Patna ¹⁷ One wonders, then, what are the sources for such distortions, and inaccurate historical detail? significance of Mahavira, arguably the greatest apostle of nonviolence, and his sadhana has been missed in both these Since the principles inspiring Mahavīra's renunciation in pursuit of moksa are not part of the "mapping" strategies used by Wolpert and Stein, their representations are simply of the extraneous, and thus fail to provide any insight into the wisdom and essence of such principles

³⁷ The information in this paragraph has been compiled from Padmanabh S Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification, op cit*, pp 25-37, including footnotes Mahavira's *nirvana* is usually placed by many scholars in 527 B C E

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Jain Principle of Ahimsa

Another misrepresentation centers on the principle of alimsa (nonviolence), the core principle of Jainism One author represents nonviolence as "an obsession" for the lains 38 Another author after recognizing the complete dedication in Jainism to the principle of ahimsa, states, 'the only living being a devout Jain was encouraged to "kill" was himself, through starvation, though such a death would be viewed as liberated "birth" of one's hitherto More than two thousand years after entrapped 17va Mahavīra's suicide, Gandhi was to revive the fast-untodeath as a political weapon '39 Such interpretations of Jain commitment to nonviolence distort the very centrality of alumsa to Jain worldview, and the way it is interpreted within the Jain tradition Alumsa is regarded as the supreme virtue (alumsa parmo dharmah). Under lainism violence or injury to any living beings is considered violence to self and is a major impediment for one's liberation 40 There is no evidence to suggest that any Jain was encouraged to commit suicide. And, as pointed out earlier, Mahavira certainly did no such thing Sallekhana is practiced among the Jains and is regarded as the "most

³⁶ Thapar, p 65

³⁹ Wolpert, p 54

⁴⁰ For an insightful discussion of nonviolence in Jainism, see P.5 Jaini, "Ahimsa A Jaina Wav of Spiritual Discipline," in Jaini (ed.) Collected Papers, op. cit., pp. 3-19, and Christopher Key Chapple, Nonviolence to Animals, Earth, and Self in Asian Traditions, op. cit., pp. 9-15

auspicious way that life can end."41 The practice of sallekhana results from a heightened sense of consciousness internalizing the separateness of one's body (the transient) from one's soul (the eternal) which helps one to give up any sense of attachment even to one's body, a great commitment to the principle of aparigraha

V. Neo-Orientalism?

Nineteenth century Indological discourse was characterized either by the Romantic notions of India which represented the mystical and the exotic in things Indian or by the Positivist and Utilitarian views of India which expressed a sense of contempt and disdain about India Neo-orientalist discourse is simultaneously mystical and disdainful Representing people, culture or even ideas in this fashion makes it easier for one to dismiss what might be actually significant about them. The following description of the historical milieu of Buddha and Mahāvīra is a case in point.

Rival holy men swarm across the countryside performing feats of endurance, disputing one another's spiritual credentials and vying with one another for followers and patronage. Saints or charlatans, they evidently mirrored a society to which the paranormal, the supernatural and metaphysical had a strong appeal. Many of them went naked or unwashed and they cheerfully flouted the taboos of caste system. Defying social convention, they yet enjoyed society's indulgence. Renunciation had become

⁴¹ Chapple, Nonviolence, op cit, pp 99-109, Also see Jaini, The Jaina Path, op cit, pp 227-233

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an accepted way of life in which asceticism was seen as a prerequisite to spiritual enlightenment. The philosophies on offer from this rag-tag army of reformers ranged from the mind boggling mysticism to defiant nihilism and blank agnosticism, from the outright materialism of the Lokayats to the heavy determinism of the Ajivikas, from the rationalism of the Buddha to the esotericism of Mahavira 42

The above description about the sixth century BCE India appears to employ what Richard Inden calls "the curious metaphors" In the above passage the author simultaneously uses mystical and scornful expressions which paint certain images in the minds of the reader. The reader is burdened with philosophical terms without a clue to their meaning.

Keay's preoccupation with the trivial and sensational remains a hallmark of such analysis. Without digressing, let me give one more example of this characteristic in the context of the topic of this paper. While no significant space is provided to the discussion of key concepts and teachings of Mahavīra, one is struck by the way the reference to Jain tradition is made in the book. In the context of Alexander the Great's campaign, Keay introduces and discusses at length a person named 'Calanus' whom he considers "a figure worth

⁴² Keay, pp 63-64

⁴³Richard Inden, *Imagining India* (Cambridge Basil Blackwell, 1990), *op cit*, p1 Inden questions the orientalist discourse in the study of India, following the seminal work of Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York Pantheon, 1978)

remembering" as he was the first Indian expatriate Preoccupied with chronology and dates, Keay is able to assign Calanus a date as he accompanied Alexander to Persia and died shortly before the latter did, without making any impact on the Greeks. However, unable to assign him to a particular philosophical school, he tells us the following

Calanus and his friends went naked, a condition, in which no Greek could be persuaded to join them, they may have been nigantha or Jains Jain nudity was dictated by that sect's meticulous respect for life in all its forms Clothes were taboos because the wearer might inadvertently crush any insect concealed in them, similarly death had to be so managed that only the dying would actually die lains bent on ending their life, therefore, usually starved themselves to death Yet Calanus, a man of advanced years, chose to immolate himself on his own funeral pyre Though an extraordinarily stoical sacrifice in Greek eves, this was a decidedly careless move for one dedicated to avoiding casual insecticide Evidently the Persian winter had induced a chill, if not pneumonia, and Calanus had decided it was better to die than be an encumbrance. No one, not even Alexander can dissuade him from his purpose. He strode to his cremation at the head of an enormous procession and reclined upon the pyre with complete indifference. This composure he maintained even as the flames frazzled his flesh 44

⁴⁴ Keay, pp 76-77

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This out-of-context association with Jainism (for which no evidence is provided) with the appeal of an eyewitness account creates a new genre of orientalism. It denigrates and distorts Jainism at the same time, especially for those who are unfamiliar with the tradition. Even a basic familiarity with the core tenets of Jainism would show that nudity--which is only practiced by the Digambaras--is not related to the vow of nonviolence (aliimsa), but to the vow of non-attachment (aparigraha). Furthermore, fire (agni kaya) under Jainism is considered as one of the six forms in which the Jiva reside. Therefore, self-immolation by fire will be unacceptable to a Jain as it violates the cardinal principle of nonviolence.

Stein too is more concerned with what might appear as strange and exotic in Jainism rather than with the discussion of its core principles. Nearly three pages are devoted to the issues pertaining to female salvation, where the discussion of female biology and sexual orientations become a preoccupation with the author 45 This concern for the extraneous and strange is apparent from the following

Both sides [referring to Svetambara and Digambara] recognized that in addition to the three bodily sexual forms, male, female and hermaphrodite, each form could have sexual feelings more usual in one of the other forms. Thus, they acknowledged the existence of not only homosexuality, but lesbianism and bisexuality, and did so without the usual anathematizing of traditional religions. In fact,

⁴⁵ Stein, pp 70-73

the Digambara argued that scriptural evidence that might be taken to mean that women were eligible for nirvana without having first been reborn as male really referred to men with female sexual orientation, 1 e to homosexual men 46

The above is not supported by any evidence or footnote and is a serious misrepresentation of a tradition that emphasized *brahmacarya* or celibacy as one of the five key principles ⁴⁷

These passages from Keay and Stein not only exemplify their preoccupation with extraneous elements in a tradition, but, more importantly, raise a larger issue for the integrity of the discipline of history. By focusing on issues not central to the topic, such interpretations become diversionary in nature and at best serve to provide a superficial and distorted understanding of the topic devoid of its essence. Moreover, students reading such analysis may be tempted to follow an example of "doing history" without proper evidence and supporting citations.

⁴⁶ Stein, p 72

⁴⁷ This is not an isolated example of Stein's selective emphasis on extraneous aspects while missing the essence of things. In discussing India's one of the most revered leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Stein is more concerned to point out Gandhi's "idiosyncratic authoritarianism," his "largely malign influence on women," and his preoccupation with sex and untouchability," and is less concerned by his power of satyagraha and his sacrifice for the cause of the nation and his people. See Stein, History of India, op. cit., pp. 299-302

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Conclusion

In conclusion I would like to underscore that my critique in this paper is by no means a reflection on the overall quality and value of these textbooks. Nor is the critique meant to question the expertise of the authors within their fields. The analysis does, however, point to a greater need, using the case of Jainism, for historical accuracy, for a reflection of recent scholarship and research in the writing of textbooks, for inclusion of those aspects of a topic which are germane to its proper understanding, for a balanced interpretation of key concepts and ideas which make up a religious and philosophical tradition, and their significance in the larger context of Indian history and culture

Exemplars of Anekānta and Ahimsā: The Case of the Early Jains of Mathura in Art and Epigraphy

SONYA R QUINTANILLA

The earliest surviving representations of the Jain monks in art are found in the stone sculptures produced as early as the second century B C E at Mathura, a city located about one hundred miles southeast of Delhi The Jain monks depicted in these early works belonged to a special sect, whose members can be identified by the broad piece of pleated cloth draped over the left forearms of the otherwise nude monks (See especially Figures 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, and 14) In inscriptions carved on works of art in which these monks appear, they called themselves Nirgranthas, a term found in early Buddhist texts to refer

^{*} All figures referred to in the text appear at the end of this article, beginning with page 207

¹ An example of an inscription in which the term Nirgrantha occurs is on a stone plaque carved with two flying Ardhaphalaka monks venerating a stapa (Figures 5 and 6) It reads as follows

namo arahato vardhamanasa adaye ganikaye lonasobhikaye dhitu sramanasavikaye

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to their Jain rivals, and literally meaning "those who are free from bonds" Several Jain and Buddhist texts, mostly of much later dates, refer to groups of Jain mendicants who were in one way or another associated with a piece of cloth. These texts call them ekasataka, ardhakarpata, ardhaphalaka, yapaniya, or gopya 2. In this paper I shall follow the precedent of the few scholars who have discussed these early Jain monks of Mathura and use the

nadaye ganıkaye vasuye arahato devik[u]la ayagasabha prapa sıl[a]pato patisth[a]pito nigathāna(m) arahatayatane sah[a] matare bhaginiye dhitare putrena sarvena ca parijanena arahata pujaye

(Translation "Adoration to the arhat Vardhamāna! A shrine of the arhat (arahato devikula), an assembly hall for an object of worship (ayagasabhā), a cistern (prapa), and a stone slab (silapata) were established in the sanctuary of the Nirgrantha arhats by Vasu, a junior (?) courtesan, [who is] the daughter of Lonasobhika, the matron (?) courtesan, and the female disciple of the ascetics (śramanasavika), with her mother, sister, daughter, son and her whole household, for the sake of honoring of the arhats")

² The term ekasataka appears in the Pali Buddhist Samyuttanıkaya The term Ardhakarpata is used by Ramacandra Mumuksu in the twelfth century in his Sanskrit version of the Bhadrabahucarita The terms ardhaphalaka and yapana appear in the Bhadrabahukathanaka, a section of Harisena's Brhatkathakosa of the tenth century And, the term, gopya is found in a fifteenthcommentary by century Gunaratna on Haribhadra's Saddarsanasamuccaya See Padmanabh S Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kusana Sculptures," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (Vol LVIII, Part 3, 1995), pp 488, 479 (fn 2), 480, 487

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term "Ardhaphālaka" to refer to them, though it probably was not the name these monks used for themselves "Ardhaphālaka" is a descriptive epithet which means "those with a partial piece of cloth"

No texts have been found that can be specifically associated with the Ardhaphālakas Nor are there any texts that clearly identify them and explain their practices Padmanabh S Jaini has published a thorough study of passages in literature that might refer to the monks of this sect.3 but almost all of them were composed many centuries after their demise "Given the variety of possibilities presented in various sources," concludes Jaini, "a conclusive identification of the sect of these ardhaphalaka images on the Mathura sculptures cannot be made from the available literary evidence "4 Therefore, the contemporaneous art historical and epigraphical records are the most reliable documents for understanding the tenets and mores of the Ardhaphālaka monks of Mathura Upon examining their depictions in art along with their inscriptions, it becomes evident that the Ardhaphalaka monks of early Mathura were exemplars of ahimsa and anekanta, and their vigorous adherence to these principles apparently resulted in their being exceptionally prosperous, popular, and influential Their practices significantly shaped the future of Jainism and Jain art, and, as a dominant religious group at Mathura, they were instrumental in creating a cosmopolitan cultural center where followers of diverse religions peacefully coexisted.

³ Ibid, pp 479-494

⁴ Ibid, p 492

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This paper begins with a brief history of the Ardhaphalakas in sculptural representations, followed by a discussion of how we know that they embraced the tenets of ahimsa and anekanta, despite the lack of Ardhaphalaka Jain treatises Finally, the paper will also identify some of the benefits resulting from the Ardhaphalakas' practice of ahimsa and anekanta

Archaeological evidence suggests that Ardhaphālaka sect of Jain monks was localized in Mathura, for no trace of them has been found elsewhere They were active from at least the second century BCE until the end of the Kushan Period in the late third century CE, after which time they were no longer represented in art 5 They are ubiquitous on pedestals of Jain Tirthankara images of the Kushan Period at Mathura (second and third centuries CE), such as the image of Parsva in Figure 16 In the detail of Parsva's pedestal in Figure 2, the Ardhaphalaka monks are shown standing to the left of the central cakrastambha As in all Kushan depictions, the Ardhaphālaka monks are shown holding their distinctive piece of cloth in front of their bodies so as to cover their

⁵ These statements are contingent upon evidence that has been discovered to date and of which the author is aware. They can be modified if conclusive evidence for the existence of monks belonging to the Ardhaphalaka sect is found in a region other than Mathura, at a time earlier than the second century B C E or later than the fourth century C E

⁶ This sculpture of seated Parśvanatha in the State Museum, Lucknow (J 113/J 25) is inscribed as having been made in the Year 58 during the reign of the Kushan emperor Huvishka by a donor named Nagasena

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genitals Such a practice was reviled as heretical by the orthodox Digambaras.

The Ardhaphalakas seem to have particularly favored image worship, for more lina icons have been discovered at Mathura than any other region in India during the pre-Kushan and Kushan Periods when the Ardhaphalakas were active Because the monks are so frequently depicted on the pedestals of Jina images during the Kushan period, scholars such as N P Joshi, Padmanabh S Jaini, and U P Shah, who have studied the representation of the Ardhaphālakas in art, have primarily dealt with sculptures such as these 7 Not previously studied, however, is their presence on Mathura sculptures that significantly predate the Kushan period Possibly even as early as the second century BCE, in a narrative scene from Mathura depicting the renunciation of the first Jina Rsabha, two Ardhaphalaka monks may be identified (Figure 3) 8 Though partially obscured by an unfortunate

⁷ U P Shah, Jaina Rapa Mandana, New Delhi, 1987, especially pp 5-8, N P Joshi, "Early Jaina Icons from Mathura," in Mathura The Cultural Hentage, New Dehli, 1989, pp 332-367, and Padmanabh S Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kusana Sculptures," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol LVIII, part 3, 1995, pp 479-494

⁸ The seated figure in the lower right of the group carved in the central portion of the architrave, with the large turban and grasping a pillar of the pavilion, is identifiable as Rsabha prior to his renunciation. At this point in his life Rsabha was a king, witnessing the impending death of the dancing nymph, Ntlanjana, under the pavilion. Her death propelled him to renounce the kingly life and become a wandering ascetic. For the

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intrusive mortise cut when this architrave was reused as a railing pillar at some later date, portions of two monks are still visible They are shown nude, with a piece of cloth, and they have been carved next to the earliest identifiable images of linas in human form. These two nude ascetics are possibly identifiable as Rsabha himself after his renunciation. The smaller of the two holds an alms bowl in his left hand, and a small cloth in his right hand. The larger of the two originally may have held the cloth in his left hand or draped over his left forearm, the damaged condition of the stone makes it impossible to know for certain. At the left end of the frieze are two depictions of the Ima Rsabha, seated in meditation, with his distinctive single lock of hair depicted like a pigtail Following parallel representations in later Jain manuscripts, the one on the right may depict Rsabha in dhyana, or meditation, while the second figure may depict him in kevala samadhi, or the state of eternal meditative bliss 9 While this remarkable early relief sculpture of the second century BCE does not depict Ardhaphālaka monks in the usual fashion as seen in later sculptures, it is noteworthy that the representations of nude Jain ascetics on this architrave are both associated with a piece of cloth. This sculpture may represent an early phase in the formation of the

story of the life of Rsabha, see Champat Rai Jain, Risabha Deva The Founder of Janusm, Allahabad, 1929

⁹ An unpublished folio from a manuscript of the life of Rsabha in the San Diego Museum of Art (1990 214), dating to the seventeenth century, depicts two images of Rsabha seated in meditation on block-like pedestals. One is labeled dhana, while the other is labeled kavalasamaya.

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Ardhaphalaka sangha, before the manner of donning the small piece of cloth was clearly codified.

Between the first century BCE and first century CE, the representation of Ardhaphalaka monks in Mathura sculptures appears to have assumed a consistent pattern The identifying piece of cloth, which we can call a colapatta, is invariably draped over the left forearm, as we see in Figures 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, and 14 One of the most common ways in which they are depicted in pre-Kushan art is in flight through the air The fragment in Figure 4 is from a sculpted relief probably not unlike the one in Figure 5, though it is about one hundred years older. The umbrella in Figure 4 originally would have surmounted a sacred site or object, such as a stapa, like the one on the complete relief in Figure 5 The Ardhaphālaka monks in Figures 4 and 5 are shown in a flying posture, hovering in the air at a higher level than the celestial kinnaras, who bring garlands or flowers as pious offerings to the site. It is clear that the Ardhaphalakas were considered to be of a higher status than the celestial beings 10 Their ability to fly through the air as vidyā cārana munis, is indicative of their advanced achievements in meditative practice detail in Figure 6, the Ardhaphalaka monk is shown flying through the air, visibly nude, the colapatta draped over his left forearm does not shield his genitals at all. In his left hand he carries a small pot, and his right hand touches his forehead in a gesture of homage and veneration

¹⁰ For a discussion of the exalted status of Ardhaphalaka monks see my article "Closer to Heaven than the Gods Jain Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura," Marg, March 2001, pp 57-68

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The high status of a flying Ardhaphālaka monk is also to be seen in the carvings on a large tympanum, which may have, when it was intact, formed the top of an imposing arched doorway leading into an Ardhaphālaka precinct of the early first century CE (Figure 7) Only a fraction of the flying nude Ardhaphalaka monk remains on the broken edge in the central register of this tympanum His leg, bent in the posture of flying, is seen in the detail in Figure 8, as is his arm with the salient colapatta draped over the left forearm. The object held over the monk's right shoulder is the rajoharana, or whisk broom used by Jain monks to sweep the path before them as they walk In the original center of this tympanum (now lost) would have been an object of worship, probably a seated lina image, if it is analogous to other similar tympana that survive intact from the Kushan Period (Figure 9) Note that on the early tympanum (Figures 7 and broken 8) Ardhaphalaka monk is placed closer to the holy object in the center of the tympanum than the flying gods who bear offerings of lotus flowers behind him

The remains of another architrave from Mathura dating to the pre-Kushan period of the early first century CE depict three Ardhaphālaka monks (Figure 10). The scene on the left portion seems to be in a monastic setting with a tank. One Ardhaphālaka monk, who is nude with the colapatta over his left forearm and a small pot in his left hand, approaches the tank with his right hand outstretched. In the center of the surviving fragment is what appears to be an Ardhaphālaka monk of particularly high status, as he is seated on a cushion or platform under a

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tree ¹¹ He has the water pot in his left hand and colapatta over his left forearm, while his right hand is raised to his shoulder holding the handle of a rajoharana, whose bristles drape over his shoulder. He is being venerated by a layman, standing before him, clothed and bejeweled, with his hands in añjalimudra

A more enigmatic depiction of an Ardhaphalaka monk is represented in Figure 10, where only the lower halves of three figures are visible on the back of a mythical serpentine creature riding through a rocky sylvan setting. The foremost figure is an Ardhaphalaka monk with his pot and *colapatta*, while seated behind him are a lay man and woman, who faces backwards

Ardhaphālaka monks are also found in more iconic settings, in the central circles of sacred plaques called ayagapatas ¹² The one in Figures 11 and 12 dates to the early first century C E, and it depicts the *Jina* Pārśva seated in meditative bliss while being venerated by two Ardhaphālaka monks. The monks are completely nude

¹¹ This presentation of the monk seated under a tree echoes the placement of divinities and sacred altars under trees. The Ardhaphalaka Jains of Mathura seem to have adopted the universally recognized idea of locating a holy being under a tree on a platform, as did the Buddhists in the placement of Siddhartha's enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. Here, however, a mere monk is depicted in such an exalted state, and his sanctity is further emphasized by his being worshipped by a lay person.

¹² For a full discussion of ayagapatas, see my "Ayagapatas Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology," in Artibus Asiae, LX, 1990, pp 79-137

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with the *colapatta* draped over each of their left forearms (Figure 12) Their hands are pressed together in a gesture of adoration. As in all pre-Kushan depictions, the *colapatta* is not used to cover nudity, but is nevertheless constantly present.

By the Kushan Period of the second and third centuries CE, however, the *colapatta* invariably covers the frontal nudity of Ardhaphālaka monks, as seen in the plaque dated to the early third century CE (Figure 13),¹³ and on the lion pedestal of the late second century CE (Figure 2) The monks themselves are still highly revered as seen in Figure 13 where the Ardhaphālaka cleric is being venerated by serpent deities, and lay followers

How can we tell from the sculptural representations that members of the Ardhaphalaka sect in early Mathura, whom the Digambaras deemed heretical, practiced ahimsā? One clear piece of evidence is their use of the rajoharana, which they frequently hold, both in pre-

¹³ The somewhat damaged inscription on this plaque reads as follows

I s[1]ddha[m] sam 90 9 gri 2 di 10 6 kolyat[0] ganato thaniyato kulato vai[ra]to [vo]to aryyasura[po] 2 śiśini dhamasriye navartina grahadatasya dhi[tu] dhanahathi A a gha[?]sthiviji

B kana sramana

⁽Translation "Hail! In the year 99 in the second month of summer, on the sixteenth day [the wife of ?] Dhanahathi at the request Dhamasiri, the female pupil of Aryyasurapo-- of the Koliya gana, the Thaniya (Sthaniya) kula, and the Vaira [vo]"

A "Anagha--sthaviji"

B "The ascetic Kana")

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Kushan and Kushan sculptures (Figures 10, 8, and 13) This whisk broom was used to sweep tiny creatures from their path to prevent any injury to them while the mendicants walked. Even the distinctive emblem of the sect, the colapatta, may have been used for preventing injury to living beings. A fifth-century Buddhist source, the Dhammapada-Atthakatha, states that the Nirgranthas wore the cloth not to cover their frontal nudity, but to prevent one-sense beings found in dust and dirt from entering the alms bowl and being eaten or harmed accidentally ¹⁴ It is interesting to note that the bowl is held in combination with the colapatta in early representations, though it does not actually cover the bowl itself (Figures 6 and 10)

Another piece of evidence for the practice of *ahimsā* by the Ardhaphālaka monks can be found in their holding of the *mukhapatikā*, which is a small cloth used to cover the

^{14 &}quot;For one day the monks, seeing naked ascetics of the Jain order, began the following discussion 'Brethren, these Niganthas are to be preferred to the Acelakas, who go entirely naked, for these ascetics at least wear a covering in front. These ascetics evidently possess some sense of modesty' Overhearing the discussion, the Niganthas said, 'It is not for this reason at all that we wear a covering. On the contrary, even dust and dirt are actual individuals, endowed with the principle of life, and so, for fear they may fall into our alms-dishes, for this reason we wear a covering' Arguments and counter-arguments followed between both parties of monks, and there was a long discussion." See *Dhammapada Atthakatha*, Book XXII, Story 8 Niganthanamvatthu, in Eugene Watson Burlingame (trans), Buddhist Legends, Part 3 Harvard Oriental Series, Volume 30 (Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1921), p. 196

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mouth during speech to prevent any tiny beings from accidentally entering the mouth and being injured or killed (Figure 14) The mukhapatika is also grasped in the left hands of the Ardhaphalaka monks on the detail of a Jina pedestal (Figure 15), where they are also shown holding their rajoharanas up in their right hands

It is interesting to note in connection with the image in Figure 15, that a fully clothed Svetāmbara monk is depicted together with the Ardhaphālakas, at the left This suggests that by the mid to late Kushan Period, the Ardhaphālakas of Mathura began to integrate with the canonical Svetāmbaras, and were eventually subsumed into the Svetāmbara sect of Jainism, thereby explaining their disappearance in art after the third century C E. This gradual integration into the Svetāmbara sect may also explain the shift towards covering their frontal nudity with the colapatia in the later images.

Now we shall turn to the question of how the Ardhaphalaka monks of early Mathura exemplify the ideals of anekanta The Ardhaphalakas were very open to the ideas and practices of other religions they came across Their adoption of practices and accouterments from other religious groups, such as Brahmanism, cults of popular vaksas and vaksis, and Buddhism, testifies to their attitudes of tolerance and acceptance They also did not hesitate to include among their followers women, foreigners, and members of any classes or occupations This attitude made them more familiar and more easily acceptable to the local population. In turn, such attitude facilitated the conversion to Jainism of lay people, many of whom were very wealthy and prominent, especially in pre-Kushan Mathura One feature they seem to have adopted from

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Brahmanical Hinduism was the idea of the vidya carana muni and the holding of the pot in the left hand, which is a standard attribute of Brahmins. In figure 16 is a second century B C E depiction of Brahmins holding a pot in their left hands, who are able to fly through the air as a result of their high-level austerities. This depiction is very similar to the flying Ardhaphalaka monks on the plaque in Figures 5 and 6, only the Jain monk is nude and tonsured.

Even the colapatta itself may have been adopted from the practice of Brahmins who, in the pre-Kushan periods, draped the skin of a black antelope over their left forearms, rather than over the left shoulder as was the practice during the Kushan period and later In Figures 17 and 18 are relief carvings of Brahmins The former depicts a scene from a lataka story in which the Buddha was a Brahmin in a previous life, and he wears the black antelope skin in the same way that the Ardhaphalakas wore the colapatta The relief in Figure 18 is a detail from the story of the Brahmin ascetic boy Rsyaśrnga, who is similarly depicted with the antelope skin over his left This may have been a practice of revered Brahmin ascetics that was adopted by the Ardhaphālaka Jains, but adapted to cohere with the non-violent tenets of Jainism Thus the black antelope skin was converted to a strip of cloth, though it still functioned as the emblem of an ascetic

A distinctive aspect of the Ardhaphālaka Jains of Mathura is their focus on *stūpa* worship, but without any evidence of the *stūpas*' association with a relic ¹⁵ Two

¹⁵ The archaeological remains of the prominent Jain *stapa* at Kankali-Tila in Mathura were published by Vincent Smith in *The*

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examples of bas relief depictions of a stapa under worship by Jains are on the stone plaque in Figure 5 and in the spandrel of the tympanum in Figure 19 It is possible that the Ardhaphālaka Jains adopted the centrality of stūpa worship from their Buddhist neighbors, though this point bears further investigation. The monument of the stupa could have served as a focal point of veneration for the Jain spiritual community, as it did for the Buddhists Nowhere else in Jain art or at other Jain archaeological site does the stapa play such a prominent role as it did in early The donative inscription on the bas relief depiction of the stapa in Figure 5 states that a female courtesan, who was a lay disciple, along with members of her family gave a shrine, an assembly hall, a cistern and a stone slab to the Jain sanctuary,16 thus expanding a monastic complex that included a stupa. The stupas were dedicated to a lina, such as Mahavira, the one in the slab in Figure 5 appears to be a bas relief representation of a stupa that was dedicated to Mahavira, for the inscription opens with an invocation to him, and his cognizance of the lion is found atop one of the flanking pillars. It was a large stupa, built upon a high platform, the entrance stairway of which is flanked by a yaksa on the left and a yaksi on the right

Yaksas and yaksas were remarkably prominent and especially important to the local population of Mathura during this early period,¹⁷ and the Ardhaphālaka Jains

Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities at Mathura, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol XX, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, vol V Muttra Antiquities, 1900

¹⁶ See note 1, above

¹⁷ More iconic statues of yaksas and yaksas have been found from the environs of Mathura dating from the second century

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were tolerant of and receptive to this proclivity. Their early art includes many yaksas and yaksās in their pantheon of Jain deities. A famous Jain relief invoking Mahāvīra, which was dedicated by a female lay disciple in the Year 72 during the reign of the Mahāksatrapa Sodāsa (ca C E 15), features a figure that is best identified as a yaksā who has been subsumed within Jainism (Figure 20). Similarly, at the broken edge of the lowest register of the tympanum we discussed above (Figure 7), is a representation of a

BCE to the first century CE than from any other single region on the Indian subcontinent. This statistic holds despite the fact that most sites at Mathura have yet to be systematically excavated The prominence of yaksa cults at Mathura are also attested in early Buddhist literature. The Pali Augustara Nikaya, relates that in Mathura, "[the ground] is uneven, there is much dust, there are fierce dogs, bestial yakkhas, and alms are got with difficulty" (F L Woodward and E M Hare, trans, The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Anguttara Nikaya), 5 vols, Pali Text Society Translation Series, nos 22, 24-27, London, Pali Text Society, 1932-36, vol 3, p 188 Cf John Strong, The Legend of King Asoka, p 29) One such fierce yaksa of Mathura, named Gardabha, is said to have been converted by the Buddha in Asvaghosa's Buddhacarita (Buddhacarita, xx1 25 The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha, E. H. Johnston, trans, Delhi, 1984, first published in Lahore, 1936), Part III, p 59) The prominence of in Mathura is also reflected in the Mülasarvastıvadın Vınaya, wherein Brahmins entreat the Buddha to quell yaksas and yaksis who ravage the city The Buddha subsequently converts these beings to Buddhism, and the citizens of Mathura are enjoined to build Buddhist viliaras in their honor See John Strong, The Legend and Cult of Upagupta, p Gilgit Manuscripts, 9 vols, edited by Nalinaksha Dutt, Calcutta, 1939-59, vol 3, pt 1, pp 16-17

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seated goddess being venerated by female devotees. In this way the Ardhaphālakas exhibited an inclusivist attitude towards local divinities, embracing them within their own religion. This was apparently attractive to women who were not obliged to abandon their traditional divinities associated with childbirth and prosperity when they embraced Jainism. Consequently, women made up a large segment of the lay Jain population of early Mathura, and they were some of the most generous donors and patrons of Jain sites.

One special yaksa deity incorporated into the Jain pantheon by the Ardhaphalakas, like other yaksas, yaksis, and nagas was the goat-headed vaksa associated with childbirth, called Naigamesin A damaged image of Naigamesin stands guard at the entrance Ardhaphālaka Jain stūpa (Figure 5), while another is found on a gateway architrave (Figure 21) Both the images, which date to the first century CE, may represent early incorporation of Naigamesin into Jainism, possibly even before the rise of the tradition regarding the transfer of the embryo of Mahavira found in the Svetambara canons Fertility goddesses are also carved on the Jain architrave with Naigamesin (Figure 21) The Ardhaphalaka incorporation of the yaksa cult into their open and tolerant form of Jainism also included the worship of trees, as seen in a detail from a Jain ayagapata

The art historical evidence suggests that not only did the Ardhaphālakas include divinities and practices from other religious groups, they also encouraged foreigners to become followers of their religion. In the lower register of a tympanum dating to the Kushan Period (Figure 9) Scythians in non-Indian dress consisting of

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tunics, trousers and boots worship a seated Jain goddess, who is flanked by Naigamesin and another male divinity the topmost register of the same tympanum Ardhaphalaka monks venerate a stupa with their female disciples, while lay men honor the image of a seated Tirthankara in the middle register The inclusion of foreigners, stūpas, women, vaksas, **yaksis** anthropomorphic images into Ardhaphālaka Jainism as seen on this one tympanum bespeaks the adherence of these unique early Jains of Mathura to the ideals of anekānta 18

¹⁸ In the pre-Kushan Jain tympanum from Mathura of the first century CE there are no examples of figures in Scythian There are, however, a significant number of figures wearing an Iranian type of headgear, consisting in horizontally wrapped turbans secured to one's head by means of a broad strap worn under the chin (Figures 7 and 19) J C Harle and Domenico Faccenna have demonstrated that this type of headgear is generally worn by grooms, horsemen, warriors or hunters (J C Harle, "The significance of wrapped heads in Indian sculpture," South Asian Archaeology 1979, ed H Härtel, Berlin, 1981, pp 401-11, D Faccenna, "The turban in the figural frieze from the Main Stupa of the Buddhist Sacred Area of Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan) and the Corpus of Gandhara sculpture," Silk Road Art and Archaeology, vol 6, 1999/2000, pp 45-9, esp figs 2, 7, and 8) Whether those who wear them are necessarily foreigners in Mathura is uncertain. This sort of headdress is found in regions that were particularly in close contact with the West, namely, Bhaja in Western India, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, and Gandhara and Swat In any event, this kind of headgear is foreign to Mathura and is not regularly seen in art from India-proper It appears to be an Iranian type of hat that was worn frequently either by Iranians

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The Ardhaphalaka Jains also adopted the Mathuran propensity for iconic image worship. The earliest identifiable depictions of Tirthankaras in human form, the seated figures of Rsabha (Figure 3), are from Mathura, datable to around the second century BCE were based on the prototype of the apparently Brahmanical ascetic (tapasvin), with feet crossed, seated on a platform 19 The form was adapted to suit Jain ideals, for the images of Rsabha are in the posture of meditation, instead of active instruction, and no antelope skin covers their pedestals, thus showing their adherence to alumsa Shortly thereafter, full-scale linas carved in the round were being produced at Mathura, presumably by the impetus of the Ardhaphālaka Jains, like the standing Pārśva of the early first century BCE (Figure 23) Images of Jinas subsequently are found frequently in the Jain art of Mathura throughout the first century CE strong tradition of making images of Jinas as objects of worship in human form seems to have been started under the auspices of the open-minded Ardhaphālakas at Mathura The veneration of Tirthankara images continues to be central to the Jain faith to this day

The Jains of Mathura, who, before the mid-second century CE, belonged to the Ardhaphalaka sect, as far as

in India employed as groomsmen or local people who adopted the Iranian item of dress. Be they foreigners or low-class groomsmen, hunters, or soldiers, men with this type of headgear were embraced by the Ardhaphalakas, which serves as further evidence for their attitudes of anekanta.

¹⁹ For an example of a seated Brahmanical *tapasvin* dating to the mid- to late second century B C E see A K Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1956, pl XLIV, fig 172

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the currently available evidence indicates, had been making human images of *Jina*s since the second century B C E. They created a climate of openness and tolerance, by inviting members of other religions, various ethnicities, and people from all walks of life into their fold. They adopted monuments, images and practices associated with contemporaneous religions that were familiar and popular among the residents of Mathura. Consequently, they successfully attracted a large, wealthy, and diverse following, and they became instrumental for the production of a great deal of art for their grand monastic complexes. As far as the archaeological evidence attests, they became a dominant religious group in Mathura.

The other religions of the area then responded and seemed to follow the Ardhaphālaka model in ways such as the making of human images for worship. The earliest surviving representation of the Buddha in human form was found in Mathura and is datable to the early first century C.E. (Figure 24). It bears close resemblance to images of Junas produced for their Ardhaphālaka neighbors, such as the seated Pārsva from the center of an ayagapata (Figure 12). After this time the image cult among the Buddhists gradually gained momentum, such that by the early second century C.E., colossal stone Buddhas were being exported to other cities in northern India. Similarly, Hindu imagery took root and diversified during the period when the Ardhaphālakas were flourishing.

The art historical, epigraphical and archaeological evidence shows that the Ardhaphālaka sect of Jains in Mathura, who evidently embraced the ideals of alumsā and anekānta, were instrumental in creating a tolerant, diverse environment in a cosmopolitan cultural center where the

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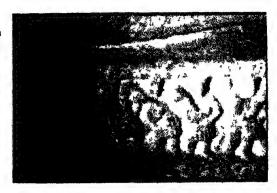
arts were copiously patronized, and different religions flourished alongside one another. Scholars have often wondered why Mathura was the seat of so many key religious movements and iconographic developments that significantly affected the course of history. The answer may lie in the influence exerted by the Ardhaphālaka Jain monks and their followers, who comprised a large segment of the population, and the atmosphere of inclusiveness, peace, and tolerance that they helped to create and uphold

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Figure 1 Seated Pārsva Mathura, second century C E, State Museum, Lucknow J 113/J 25 (Photo Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow)

Figure 2 Detail of the pedestal in Figure 1 (Photo Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow)



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Figure 3 Aichitiave with Renunciation of Rsabha Mathura, late second century B C E , State Museum, Lucknow I 354/609 (Photo AIIS)



Figure 4 - I ragment of a panel with flying Ardhaphālaka monk and kinnara - Mathuia, c early to mid first century B C E, State Museum, Lucknow J 105 (Photo 5 R Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow)

Figure 5 Stone plaque depicting the veneration of a Jain stūpa Mathura c mid to late tirst century C E. Government Museum, Mathura Q 2 (Photo After Ludwig Bachhotei, Laily Indian Sculpture, New York, 1929, p. 91.)



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Figure 6 Detail of flying Ardhaphālaka monk from Figure 5 (Photo S R Quintanilla, courtesy Government Museum, Mathura)

Figure 7 Jain tyinpanum Mathura, c early first century C E, National Museum, New Delhi J 555 (Photo After L Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, New York, 1929, pl 102)



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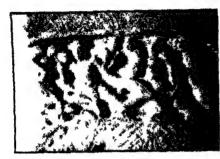


Figure 8 Detail of Figure 7 (Photo S R Quintanilla, courtesy National Museum, New Delhi)

Figure 9 Jain tympanum Mathura, second century C.F., State Museum, Lucknow B 207 (Photo S.R. Quintanilla courtesy State Museum, Lucknow)





Figure 10 Jain architrave with Ardhaphālaka monks Mathura, c early first century C E, Brooklyn Museum of Art 87 188 5, Gift of Michael and Georgia de Havenon (Photo S R Quintanilla, courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art)

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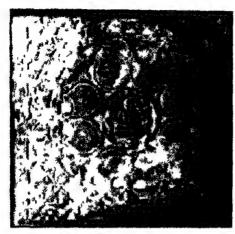


Figure 11 Āyāgapata with veneration of Pārsva by two Ardhaphālaka monks Mathura, c early first century C E, State Museum, Lucknow J 253 (Photo John M Rosenfield)

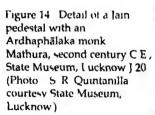


Figure 12 Detail of Figure 11 (Photo S R Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow)

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Figure 13 Kana Plaque, Mathura, c early third century C F, State Museum, Lucknow J 623 (Photo John M Rosenfield)





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Figure 15 Detail of a Jain Pedestal with Ardhaphālaka monks and a Svetāmbara monk Mathura, second century C E, State Museum, Lucknow J 26 (Photo S R Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow)

Foure 16 Brahmin ascelics flying through the air Detail from the coping stone, Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh, c midsecond century BCE, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Photo After A K Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bharhut, Paris, 1956, fig. 251)



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Figure 17 Mahābodhi Jātaka Detail from the coping stone, Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh, c midsecond century B C E, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Photo After A K Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bharhut, Paris, 1956, fig. 137)

Figure 18 Rsyasinga, the Brahmin ascetic and the Princess Shanta Detail from a rail post, Mathura, c early first century B C E, Government Museum, Mathura 76 40 (Photo S R Quintanilla, courtesy Government Museum, Mathura)



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Figure 19 Worship of a Jam stūpa Detail from a Jain tympanum Mathura, c early first century C E, National Museum, New Delhi (Photo S R Quintanilla, courtesy National Museum, New Delhi)



Figure 20 Jain stone plaque dedicated by Amohini Mathura, early first century C E, State Museum, Lucknow J 1 (Photo After Ludwig Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, New York, 1929, pl 74)



Figure 21 Detail from an architrave depicting Naigamesin Mathura, c late first century C E, State Museum, Lucknow, J 626 (Photo S R Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow)

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Figure 22 Standing Parsva with attendant Mathura, c early first century B C F, State Museum, Lucknow J 82 (Photo S R Quintanilla courtesy State Museum, Lucknow)

Figure 23 Buddha and lokapālas Mathura, c early first century C F, Government Museum, Mathura H 12 (Photo Government Museum, Mathura)



Glossary

advaita non-dual system of Vedanta

alumsa non-harming physically, verbally or

mentally, nonviolence

ajīva non-living

anekantavada many-pointed reality, non-one-sided

perspective of reality, non-

absolutism

anuvrata minor vows for lay Jains

aparıgraha non-possession, non-attachment

apramada watchful moral behavior

arambhajā himsā occupational or accidental violence ardhaphālaka Jain monks nude for the most part

except for wearing partial piece of

cloth over their left forearm

asatavedaniya karma certain variety of karmic matter that

produces unpleasant feelings

asrava influx of karma.

ayagapata a sacred stone or object carved with

images of Tirthankaras or other

saınts

bandha bonda'ge of karma

bhāvanā contemplation or meditation

cakrasthambha free-standing pillar surmounted by a

wheel, which refers to the teaching

or the law.

darśana "seeing," intuition

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dhyāna meditation dvesa aversion

ekāntika epistemological error of one-

sidedness

gaccha lineage of monks and nuns within a

sect

ganadhara first mendicant disciples of a

tīrthankara, for example 12 Ganadharas of Mahāvīra

gunasthana a stage of spiritual development

(fourteen stages in Jainism)

himsa harming physically, verbally or

mentally

Jina "the conqueror" or one who

overcomes aversion and attachment

jīva living being (soul) karma action, form of matter

karuna compassion

kevala samādhi
kevalajñāna
infinite knowledge, omniscience
kinnara
winged celestial being whose upper
half is human and lower half is that

of a bird

madhyastha standing in the middle

mādhyasthya neutrality

mahavrata major vows (five great vows for Jain

mendicants)

maitri universal friendliness mithyadarsana deluded view of reality

mithyadrsti incorrect view of reality, the first

gunasthāna

moksa liberation from the cycle of rebirth.

Glossary

mukhapatika a small cloth covering the mouth to

prevent killing of tiny beings.

nuni one who keeps silence, monk logically distinct standpoint(s) nayavada epistemological theory of

standpoints

nirgrantha "free from bonds," term used for

Jain ascetics who had renounced the

world and become mendicants

nırjara removal of karma from soul parıgraha parınıana choosing to set limits to one's

possessions

pākhandika heretic, imposter

pāpa harmful karmas associated with soul. pratīty samutpāda Buddhist theory of interdependent

arising

rajoharana a whisk broom used by Jain monks

and nuns to sweep the ground free of small living beings before them as

they walk

raga attachment

samkalpajā himsā intentional violence

samanī stage before initiation into sādhvi or

mendicant order

samavasarana preaching assembly of the Jina

samsara cycle of rebirth

samvara stopping of karmic influx samayika attainment of equanimity sangha spiritual community

saptabhangi seven-fold system of qualified

predication

sarvajña omniscient

sadhana ascetic activities.

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sata vedaniya karma certain variety of karmic matter that

produces pleasant feelings

satyagraha the truth force or the soul force, a

term coined by Mahatma Gandhi

śramana of non-Vedic tradition, usually refers

to Jains or Buddhists

srāvnka lay Jain followers (male), śrāvikā

(female)

stupa a sacred monument in the shape of

hemispherical dome surmounted by an umbrella (in Jainism stupa is

dedicated to Tirthankara or other holy

beings)

syadvada doctrine of qualified assertion

tapas austerities

tīrthankara "fordmakers," omniscient human

teachers who preach the path to

mokşa

vidyā cārana muni a holy man with such high state of

meditative accomplishment that he is able to fly through the power of his

austerities

virodhī himsā violence in opposition to the enemy yaksa a male nature divinity associated wit

a male nature divinity associated with the productivity of the earth, wealth

and prosperity

yaksī a female nature divinity associated

with life giving forces, especially

vegetation

yoga vibration, meditation

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Notes on Contributors

Christopher Key Chapple is Professor of Theological Studies and Associate Academic Vice President at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles. He is the author of Karma and Creativity (1986), Nonviolence to Animals, Earth, and Self in Asian Tradition (1993), coeditor of Hinduism and Ecology (2000), editor of Jainism and Ecology (2002), and co-translator of Reconciling Yogas Haribhadra's Collection of Views on Yoga (2003)

Samani Charitrapragya received her initiation (samani Diksa) in 1990 from Ganadhipati Gurudev Tulsi and Acharya Mahapragyaji She received her M A in Jain and Comparative Philosophy from Jain Vishva Bharti Institute, India She has organized a number of Preksa Meditation camps, delivered invited lectures on Jain Philosophy and Culture at colleges, universities and conferences in India, Europe and the United States

Robert J. Del Bontà received his Ph D from the University of Michigan He has taught courses in South and Southeast Asian art and curated many shows at the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco. He has also curated a major exhibition of Indian painting for the Berkeley Art Museum, and is currently preparing an exhibition at the University of Michigan Museum of Art. He has published numerous articles on Hindu sculpture, and architecture, calendar art, Indian composite painting, Sikh and Mughal painting, and Jain art from all over India.

Paul Dundas is Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, School of Asian Studies, University of Edinburgh His research interests include Jain history and institutions, Middle Indo-Aryan philology, Sanskrit court poetry He has published numerous articles and book chapters. His book, "The Jains" originally published in 1992 has appeared in revised edition (2002)

Kamla Jain is Associate Professor of Philosophy at the College of Jesus and Mary, University of Delhi Her publications include Concept of Pañcaśila in Indian Thought, and Aparigraha: The Humane Solution—which throws light on the relevance of Aparigraha in modern context

Padmanabh S. Jaini is Professor emeritus of Buddhist Studies at the University of California at Berkeley. He has also taught at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London and the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. His major publications include The Jaina Path of Purification (1979), Gender and Salvation. Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women (1991), Collected Papers on Jaina Studies (2000), and Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies (2000)

John M. Koller is past President of the Society of Asian and Comparative Philosophy He is Professor of Asian and Comparative Philosophy at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute His publications include *The Indian Way* (1982), A Source Book in Asian Philosophy (1991), Asian Philosophies (2002), and numerous articles and book chapters

Notes on Contributors

Satish Kumar is the Director of Programs at the Schumacher College in U K, and Editor of Resurgence magazine Previously he had been a Jain monk, a campaigner for land reform in support of Gandhi's vision of renewed India, and undertaken an 8,000 mile peace-walk from India to Europe and then in America He has been awarded Honorary Doctorates from the University of Plymouth and the University of Lancaster He is the author of Path Without Destination (reprinted, 1999) and You are Therefore I am (2003)

Sonya Rhie Quintanilla received her Ph D in South Asian Art History from Harvard University She teaches Art History at University of California, Irvine Her publications include an article on "ayagapatas" in Artibus Asiae vol LX, and an article entitled "Closer to Heaven than the Gods Jain Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura," in Marg (March 2001) She has a book manuscript on the history of stone sculpture in Mathura from the second century B C E to the first century C E

Tara Sethia is Professor of History and Director of the newly established Ahimsa Center at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona She received her Ph D in History from UCLA. She was the Project Director of a multi-year program on India and China for the professional development of K-12 educators, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities Her course offerings include History of India, Gandhi, Women in Asia, and Nonviolence in World History. Her publications and research focus on colonialism and economic development of Modern India

Ahımsa, Anekanta and Jainism

Kim Skoog is Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of Guam. He has presented papers and published articles in United States, Asia, and Europe He was the Guest Editor for *Philosophy East and West* (vol. 40 no. 3), a special issue on Jainism

Michael Tobias is an ecologist and has a long-standing commitment to Jain spirit and tradition. He is the author of nearly thirty books including Life Force, The World of Jainism, A Day in the Life of India, A Vision of Nature, and Deep Ecology. He is also a producer of many films, including Ahimsa—Non-Violence, and Voice of the Planet. Tobias received his Ph. D. in the History of Consciousness from the University of California, Santa Cruz. He. has taught at the University of California, Santa Barbara and at Dartmouth College.

Anne Vallely teaches at universities of Concordia and McGill in the fields of anthropology, religion and environmental ethics. She received her Ph D in Anthropology from University of Toronto. In 1999-2000 she had Rockefeller Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Humanities. She is the author of Guardians of the Transcendent. An Ethnography of a Jain Ascetic Community (2002)

Kristi Wiley is a visiting lecturer in the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley where she teaches courses on religion in South Asia. Her research has focused on aspects of Jainism associated with karma theory. Her publications include several articles, book chapters, and the Historical Dictionary of Jainism (forthcoming).

APPENDIX

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Celebrating Mahavira: The Lesssons of Ahimsa and Anekanta for Contemporary Life Pomona, January 19-20, 2002

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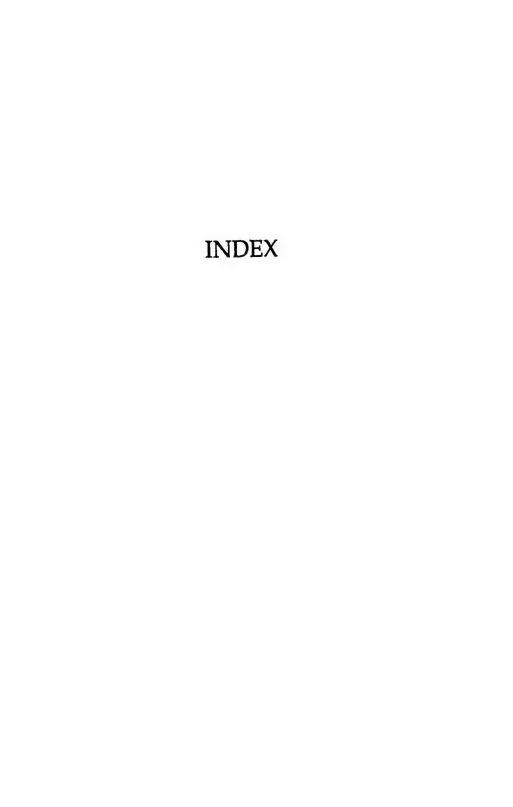
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- John M Koller, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
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- Biren Mehta, Jain Center of Southern California
- Sudhamahi Regunathan, Jain Vishva Bharti Institute, India
- Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, University of California at Irvine
- Tara Sethia, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona
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